GUIDE TO THE RL4 TURKIC PEOPLES FILE

[The RL4 Turkic Peoples file is a general file containing brief information on the Central Asian Turkic language speakers (ca. 1918). The groups covered are:

I. Western Turks - all Turks as far east as Persia and Afghanistan, including those of European Russia.

II. Eastern Turks
  A. Iranian Turks
    1) Turkomans
    2) Sarts
    3) Taranchi or Ili-Tatars
    4) Usbegs
    5) Kazakh
    6) Kara-Kalpaks
  B. Turanian Turks
    1) Kirghis
    2) Siberian Turks
      a) Yakuts
      b) Siberian Tatars
      c) Altaians

3) Turks of northwestern Mongolia and eastern Turkestan
    a) Kirei
    b) Uriankhai

There are separate files on three of these groups, which contain more specific information: MB1 Turks of Modern Turkey, RQ2 Kazak, and RV2 Yakut. For the other groups, no files presently exist, but varying amounts of further information are available in the following files: AH1 Mongolia, AI1 Sinkiang, AU1 Afghanistan, MA1 Iran, R1 Soviet Union, RH1 Caucasia, RL1 Turkestan, and RR1 Siberia.

The Turkic speaking peoples extend from modern Turkey and the Crimean, Caucasian, and Azerbeijani regions of the Soviet Union in the west to the northern borders of China and Mongolia in the east. They extend as far north as the Arctic Ocean (the Yakut, between the Lena and Yenisey Rivers) and as far south as the northern regions of Afghanistan and Iran. This is an immense area, stretching from approximately 27° - 130° east longitude and from 35° to almost 75° north latitude. They do not occupy this area by themselves, but share it with a variety of other language groups, including Mongolic, Slavic, Tungusic, and Samoyedic speakers.

The earliest known inhabitants of this region, the Scythians, were Iranian. Turkic peoples did not move into the region until after its conquest by Arabic Muslims in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Following the conquest, nomadic Turks from the east (Mongolia and China) began to move across the vast spaces of this country. The region eventually became almost exclusively Turkic, but a strong Iranian influence was always present among the sedentary peoples. Many Turks settled and became agriculturalists and Moslems, but many continued as nomadic horse or cattle breeders as they are today (Area Handbook for the Soviet Union, 1971, pp. 167-168).

There is no single criterion which unites these people except membership in the Turkic language Family (Altaic Phylum). But there are over 29 separate languages and innumerable dialects spoken throughout the region. Some languages are mutually intelligible, most are not. Language and ethnic names often coincide. The principal languages (over one million speakers /1959/) are:

I. Southern Turkic
  - A) Turkey or Ottoman Turkish - 24 million
  - B) Azerbeijani - 3 million
  - C) Turkmen - over one million (Turkmen SSR, Iran, Afghanistan)

II. Western Turkic
  - A) three languages - Karaim, Kumyh and Karachay totaling under 300,000 (Ponto-Caspian, Lithuania, southern Ukraine)
  - B) Tatar - almost 5 million (Tatar ASSR, Siberia)

III. Central Turkic
  A) Kazakh - over 3 1/2 million (from the Caspian Sea to west of Lake Balkhash)
  B) Two other languages - under 250,000 (Uzbekistan and Afghanistan)

IV. Eastern Turkic
  A) Uzbek - over 6 million (Uzbekistan and Afghanistan)
  B) Uighur - only 95,000 in Soviet Union, over 3 1/2 million in China (Sinkiang and southwestern Mongolia)

V. Northern Turkic
  A) Nine languages including Tuva (100,000), Yakut (250,000), and Altai (45,000) (from Arctic Ocean to Lake Baikal)
  B) Kirghiz - almost one million in China and Soviet Union (Kirghiz SSR, Tajik SSR, and Sinkiang, China)

(Voegelin and Voegelin, 1965, pp. 92-111). This breakdown differs to some extent from 3: Czaplicka, pp. 23-28, but it is both more extensive and more current, drawing from a larger number of sources.

While the area occupied by the Turkic peoples is large, the population is relatively small. Except for cases and river valleys, most of the area is desert or steppe incapable of supporting a dense population. Population figures vary, and when dealing with nomadic peoples, accuracy is unlikely, but estimates suggest that there are about 50 million Turkic speakers today, half of them in Turkey (Voegelin and Voegelin, 1965, pp. 93-94).

Few generalizations can be made about these peoples. Many are sedentary agriculturalists and many are pastoral nomads. The majority are Sunni Moslems, but large numbers still practice ancient shamanistic religions, and there are some Christians (mainly Russian Orthodox) as well. Statements about social, political, or economic structure cannot be made except on the lowest level. (Information based on data from Area Handbook for the Soviet Union, 1971; Voegelin and Voegelin, 1965, Languages of the World: Turkic, Anthropological Linguistics, vol. 7, pp. 92-111.)

There is only one source in this file, although there are small amounts of data from a few other files such as AH1 Mongolia and AU1 Afghanistan. 3: Czaplicka is by a British anthropologist and is a general study of the Central Asian Turks, their history and their present situation. It is not merely an objective monograph however. It is the author's stated intention to discredit the then current (1918) pan-Turkish movement by demonstrating that wide divergences exist in terms of culture, language, physical type and heritage between the various Turkic speaking groups. Her discussion then, emphasizes differences rather than similarities. But it still presents detailed pictures of the peoples involved. The file is not large and contains only small amounts of information on the topics it discusses. The source does possess an extensive bibliography. It is intended to add at least two more sources to the file at some future date. The file was processed in 1955.]

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For information on the Turkic Peoples of Afghanistan, see AU1 Afghanistan, 7: Jarring, category 116, complete text, with reference to the Index of Tribes and Peoples, pp. 84 - 91.

And so it happened that before Turkey had succeeded 000
in emancipating herself from her obligations to Europe, Persia, and Arabia, she fell a victim to ambitions[1] the extent of which nothing but the outcome of the war and the fate of the peace settlement will decide.

When, after the Young Turks' Revolution, various 815
European institutions arose in the Ottoman State, there 186
was set up the Academy of Turkish Science ('Turk Bilji Dernayi'), which utilizes the researches of English, French, German, Russian, and other European scientists to further the political plans of the Osmanly. Thus all attempts at finding what the culture of the Turks was like in their original home and in pre-Mahometan times, and what survivals of that culture and of the old race exist, are being interpreted by the Young Turks in such a way as to support the hypothesis of the racial identity of the Osmanly with the Eastern Turks. It seems 186
almost cruel that the process of nationalization started 101
among the educated classes of the Osmanly should be checked by a new 'revival', which, through its very artificiality, is disturbing the natural development of the Osmanly. Just as the first movement led to the substitution of the name 'Turk' for that of 'Osmanly', so now, with the rise of political dreams concentrated on Central Asia, the name 'Turk' is being abandoned in its turn for a name with a more Asiatic sound, viz. 'Turanian'. By using this word, the Osmanly intend to emphasize their claim to descent in the direct line

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[1] Tekin Alp, *The Turkish and Pan-Turkish Ideal*, English translation, London, 1916; M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei*, Leipzig, 1910; J. Germanus, *Turk Darnay*, K. S., 1909, X, Budapest; V. A. Gordlewski, 'Note on the "Turk Darnay" in Constantinople' (Russ.), *Eastern Antiquities*, Trans. E. Sect. I. R. Arch. S., IV, 1913; A. Tyrkova, *Old Turkey and the Young Turks* (Russ.), Petrograd, 1916; H. M. A. Sarron, *La Jeune-Turquie et la revolution*, Paris, 1912.

186 from the people who left behind the old archaeological
● 101 remains in Turan (Central Asia).

773 In many instances this propaganda assumes naïve form. Half-legendary kings and leaders of the Turks in Asia have been set up by the propagandists before the Turkish soldiers as hero-ancestors—to say nothing of such historical personages as Attila and Timur! Then again, a legend found by European investigators among many Asiatic Turks, to the effect that they originated from a she-wolf, has now provided an occasion for the abandonment on Turkish standards of the Mahometan crescent in favour of the pre-Mahometan Turkish wolf. The legend, of which there are several versions current among the Turks and Mongols of Central Asia, relates that a white she-wolf—or perhaps a woman with the name Zena (sometimes Bura), which means 'she-wolf'—found and reared an abandoned man-child, who became the ancestor of the Turks (or in the Mongol version—of the Mongols). This explains the appearance of that animal on the war standards of the early Central Asiatic Turks, particularly the Tu-kiu branch, a design imitated by the
[177] Osmanly during the present war. Though the Osmanly took up this legend as having been originally Asiatic, the latest researches seem to support the theory of de Guignes that it had a European origin, and was imported into Asia by the Huns. Assuming that the Huns were of Turkic stock, de Guignes thinks that when they were defeated in Europe and retired by way of the Volga, the Urals, and the Altai into Turan, they brought with them the Roman legend of Romulus and Remus, and gave it a Turkic setting by associating it with local Turkic traditions, so that

538 A.D.; a prominent figure in this work, the Turkic Khan Afrâsiyâb, is said to have reigned over Tura in the sixth century B.C., and to have been the great foe of Iran.[1] In this poem Turan is placed in the north of Iran.

103 The name Turan is very often given to the region otherwise called Tartary. Neither of these names is known to the Asiatic Turks, but curiously enough Turan occurs as a clan-name among the Turkic tribe of Sagai, the tribe least mixed with Finnic and Samoyedic people of all the so-called 'Tatars' of Siberia. The Turkic state of Siberia, conquered by the Khan Kuchum in the sixteenth century, is often called also the Turan state, but this name is derived from the name of the River Turu, on the banks of which the town Chingi-Tura (now Tiumien) was erected by the Beg Chingi in the fourteenth century.[2]

101 Like the term Aryan, 'Turanian' is used chiefly as a linguistic term, equivalent to 'Ural-Altaic' linguistic group.[3] The use of this linguistic term for the designation of a racial group is no more satisfactory than the use of the linguistic term 'Aryan' in the same sense. But still more unscientific is it to apply this adjective to things Turkish, for the Tungusic and the Mongolic languages have just as much right to be called Turanian as the Turkic. However, 'Turanian', not unlike

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[1] Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, p. 115.

[2] P. M. Golovacheff, *Siberia*, Moscow, 1914, p. 35.

197 [3] Although the term Turanian is now generally applied to the Ural-Altaic languages (Turkic, Tungusic, Mongolic, Samoyedic, and Finnic), it will be remembered that some linguists, for instance Max Müller, give to the Ural-Altaic group the name of North Turanian as against the South Turanian group (Tamulic, Gangetic, Lohitic, Taic, and Malayic) (Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, London, 1861, p. 322).

● 101 another vague term, 'Tatar', has become so deeply rooted in European books on Asia, that there seems to be no hope of either of them ever being abandoned for the names by which the tribes of Central Asia call themselves.[1]

Division of the Turkic-speaking peoples.

The ethnological evidence must now be examined, and to make what follows intelligible, it is necessary to preface some explanation of the broad division into Western and Eastern Turks which is here proposed.

By the term *Western Turks* is understood all the Turks—or people speaking Turkic languages, most of them subject to the Ottoman Empire—as far east as
[161] Persia and Afghanistan. Their number is 8–9 millions.

The term *Eastern Turks* is used to embrace the people of Turkestan and Central Asia as far as Mongolia and China. Their number is about 10 millions.

There are also Turks in European Russia, viz. in the Crimea, in the Caucasus, and along the Volga, especially
[161] round Kazan and Astrakhan. These number 3½–4 millions, including some of the Turkicized Finnic tribes of the Volga. Linguistically and politically they form one group with the Eastern Turks, with the exception of the Azerbeijan, who speak a Western Turkic
[144] language. But in physical type and culture they are all now mixed with Eastern Europeans, to a slightly less degree than the Osmanly are with the South-Eastern Europeans. The Pan-Turanian programme

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[1] It must be noted that, according to M. Joseph Halévy, the Turanians of Avesta and of Shâh Naméh were the Semites of Syria, because Syria was called Althura . . . Tura (C. E. Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens*, p. 49).

includes these people, and there is some linguistic excuse 101
for this in the case of the Azerbeijan. Before the present [665]
war representatives of many Russian Mahometans could be found at the Pan-Islamic Conferences in Turkey, and within Russia they formed a 'Russian Mussulman Party' in the Duma, but so far they have never been united on ground of racial or national community. Although these East European Turks will play an important rôle in the politics of the near future, and have already played their part in the Caucasus, they will not be dealt with here, since they are not typically representative of the Eastern Turks. Besides, the problems relating to them are beyond the boundary of Asia.

The classification here proposed differs from that given by Vambéry[1] in 1885, in that his first four groups, viz. Siberian Turks, Central Asiatic Turks, Volga Turks, and Pontus Turks, are grouped together under the name Eastern Turks, leaving his fifth group, Western Turks, unaltered.

The Eastern Turks.

Before tracing the Eastern Turks in history, some 636
account must be given of them as they are at the present day. Politically, almost all of them are dependent on Russia; only some 1½-2 millions are subject to China. Culturally and ethnically they fall into two groups, differing widely from each other.

The first group consists of the Turks of Turkestan 101
and some of the Turks of the Caspian Steppe country. 177
Since their appearance in this region they have been constantly under Iranian influence, and hence have

[1] A. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 85–6.

101 physically and culturally become Iranized. Considering
177 also that they settled in the country which already in
the time of the *Avesta* bore the name Iran (as opposed
to Turan), there is ample justification for calling them
the *Iranian Turks*.

The other group consists of the Turks—many of them called Tatars—of the Steppe country, Southern Siberia, Jungaria, and Northern Mongolia, including the Altai and Sayan Mountains. Thanks to the geographical structure of the country, these Turks have been more shut off from foreign influence than the first group, though they have always been to a certain extent under obligations to the culture of China, and lately to that of Russia also. These may be called the *Turanian Turks*.

162 The Eastern Turks in Asiatic Russia number al-
together some eight millions,[1] of which the Iranian
Turks account for about six millions. The Iranian
Turks form 92 per cent. of the population of Turkestan.
[177] Out of the 60 per cent. of Turkic population in the
Caspian Steppe country, about one-third may be re-
garded as Iranized.

The Turanian Turks form an unimportant percentage among the Russian, Mongols, and Chinese in the midst of whom they live; their number in south-western

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[1] The statistics here given concerning the Turks of the Russian State are based on the census of 1897 and an additional local census of 1911. See *Asiatic Russia*, edited by the Immigration Committee, St. Petersburg, 1914, vol. I. It should be noted, however, that the later census shows an increase over the earlier one greater than can be accounted for by a natural increase in the birth-rate. This is probably due to the fact that the census of 1911 was carried out by more careful observers. It is more reliable as far as linguistic grouping goes, but its estimates of the number of people professing Russian Orthodoxy are less correct.

871 classes some Arabic is taught; in the higher Persian is the language used, but neither of these languages is really mastered.[1] The Russian schools have had less success among the Sarts than among the Kaizak or the Kirghis.

● 101 THE TARANCHI OR ILI-TATARS (83,000 in 1911 as against 70,000 in 1897) live in Semirechie and in the Transcaspian Territory, having migrated to Russian Turkestan from Eastern Turkestan at the same time as the Dungans, that is to say, when Kulja passed under Chinese rule.

105 In physical type, culture, language, and religion the Taranchi stand very near to the Sarts; the only difference seems to be in regard to the treatment of their women, who have much greater freedom than among the Sarts, and do not cover their faces. The Taranchi are agriculturists, cultivating especially vegetable gardens, but some of them incline towards commerce.

The Turkomans, Sarts, and Taranchi may be grouped together as the least Turkic of all the Iranian Turks, being now strongly under Persian, as they were in the past under Arabian, influence. And of course it must be remembered that all of them form as it were a stratum overlying the original 'Aryan' population, whose culture was of an Irano-Greek type. But of the three the Taranchi have the closest connexion with the Turanian Turks, being probably the descendants of the old Uigur in Eastern Turkestan.

101 The next to be considered are the Usbegs, and their kindred tribes the Kipchak, the Kaizak (Kaizak-Kirghis), and the Kara-Kalpak.

THE USBEGS (592,150 in 1911 as against 534,825 in

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[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, p. 170.

1897) live in the Samarkand, in some parts of Syr Daria and Ferghana Territories, and in the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara. With them can be classed the KIPCHAK (60,000 in 1911 as against 45,000 in 1897), who live in the Ferghana Territory. The word Kipchak is found as the name of a clan, or perhaps a moiety, among various Siberian and Turkestan Turks, such as the Altaians, the Telengit, the Kaizak of the Middle Orda, and the Usbegs. 101

The Usbegs form the ruling class in Bokhara, Khiva, and Kokand, occupying much the same position as do the Osmanly in Turkey. Some groups of Usbegs are to be found in Northern Afghanistan, and in the west of Eastern Turkestan. The name Usbeg is political, and is probably derived from Usbeg Khan of the Golden Horde (1312-40). The Usbegs are a mixture of three elements, Turkic, Iranian, and Mongol, but the Turkic element and Turanian traditions are predominant, except in the case of the Usbegs of Khiva, where the Iranian type predominates. 105 101

Since the Usbegs are in process of exchanging their nomad life for a sedentary one, their customary law (*'ādat*) is being replaced by the written law (*sheriat*). Father-right is very strong, but the women are freer than among the Tadjiks or the Sarts. Though they now live in clay and wood houses (*sakla*), their old felt tents (*yurta*) are still to be seen, especially in summer.

There is much ethnological evidence that the Usbegs belong to the same ethnic group as that people who are called by the Russians Kaizak-Kirghis, but who call themselves Kaizak. Both names—Kaizak and Usbeg—came into use only in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and even now Usbegs and Kaizak have many

clan, or perhaps moiety, names in common (Jalair, Kangli, Kipchak, Kereit, Konkrat, Naïman, Tabyn, Arghyn, Tama, and Tilaou[1]). If the name Usbeg is derived from *bek*, 'master of oneself', and the name Kaizak from the Turkic *káz*, 'steppe goose', and the Persian *zagh*, 'steppe crow',[2] with the metaphorical meaning, 'wanderers free as steppe birds', it seems possible that the origin of both names involves the same idea. Another derivation of Kaizak from *kázmak*, 'to dig', fails to commend itself, as the meaning of the word has no direct connexion with their mode of life, the Kaizak never appearing as agriculturists.

The Kaizak-Usbegs were probably bands of people who escaped from the strong state organization of the Turkic Empires of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and reverted to a nomadic life and a nomadic culture, under conditions which led to their mixing freely with such nomads as the Western Mongols. In seeking for rich pastures they were obliged to live in a state of constant war with the people who inhabited the steppes before them. Historical evidence supports this hypothesis.[3] Their warlike disposition seems to have given rise to a Tadjik proverb, referring to the Kataghan, a tribe of Usbegs of the Kundar district: 'Where the hoof of the Kataghan's horse arrives, there the dead find no grave-cloth and the living no home'.[4]

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[1] P. Kuznietsoff, *La Lutte des Civilisations et des Langues dans l'Asie centrale*, Paris, 1912, p. 60.

[2] In this part of the world a Turkic-Persian hybrid is not uncommon.

[3] V. V. Velyaminoff-Zernoff, *The Emperors and Princes of the line of Kasim*, 1860.

[4] R. B. Shaw, *A Sketch on the Turki Language as spoken in Eastern Turkistan*, Calcutta, 1880, p. 139.

In contrast to the origin of the Usbegs and the Kaizak is the origin of the real Kirghis, by which is meant the Eastern or Yenisei Kirghis, called by the Russians the Burut-Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis. These have more right to be called Turanian Turks than the Kaizak, who may be said to stand between the two groups. They will therefore be dealt with under that head (Turanian). 101 ●

THE KAIZAK live in the northern and eastern part of the Aral-Caspian basin, and in the Orenburg Steppes. Together with the Kara-Kirghis and some of the Yenisei Kirghis—i.e. all the people whom the Russians call Kirghis, and so include under one head in their census—they numbered 4,700,000 in 1911 as against 4,100,000 in 1897. Out of this total the non-Kaizak element may be reckoned at between 500,000 and 800,000 (in 1911). [162]

The Kaizak say that they are sprung from the Usbegs, and that the Kara-Kirghis are sprung from dogs, but the Kara-Kirghis call themselves brothers of the Kaizak, and are in fact probably related to them, since the Kaizak have recruited themselves not only from the Usbegs but also from other Turkic states.

The Kaizak were divided by their Khan Tiavka in the thirteenth century into three 'hordes', called Ordas. This was done for administrative purposes, but since the death of Tiavka the history of each orda runs independently. 619

The ordas are:

1. Ulugh-yūz (Ulu-jus) or Great Orda, living in the neighbourhood of the rivers Chu and Talas, and subdivided into the Abdan and Dolat tribes.
2. Urta-yūz (Urta-jus) or Middle Orda, living between the rivers Tobol and Irtish and the Syr Daria,

among the Seykym clan of the Kaizak, whose *uran* 618
is also 'Seykym'.

Though the Kaizak belong geographically to the 221
Iranized Turks, culturally they have on the whole 231
much affinity with the Mongols. The majority are still nomadic cattle and horse breeders. Their method of cattle-keeping is a most luxurious one. They leave the cattle on the pastures the whole year round, hence their only care is to find a fresh pasture every season. The spring and autumn pastures may be the same. It is only recently, since more of the land has been claimed by the Russian Immigration Committee, that the Kaizak have begun to lay up winter stores for their cattle. Each clan has defined limits to its pasture lands. Under the old Russian system the pasture land used by the Kaizak belonged to the State, and they were granted the use of it, dividing it at their communal gatherings according to the number of people, cattle, and vehicles
in each class. The permanent houses, gardens, arable [428]
land, and irrigation canals are hereditary.[1]

It is curious to note that the Kaizak, whose dwellings 764
are so light and portable, bury their dead in solid structures of wood, clay, and brick. This custom also exists among the Kara-Kirghis, and was known to the old Yenisei-Kirghis. As it is not found among the non-Turkic population of Central Asia, it seems to indicate that those who practise it now are perhaps the nearest relatives of the people who built the old burial mounds of the Yenisei, called *kurgans*.

THE KARA-KALPAK ('Black Caps'), another Turkic 101•
tribe of the same group (134,313 in 1911 as against 162
111,799 in 1897), live in the Amu Daria district of the

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[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, p. 159.

101 Syr Daria Territory, in the Kokand district of the
162 Ferghana Territory, and some 20,000 in the Khanate
of Khiva.

221 Half of them are settled agriculturists, the rest are
231 still nomad cattle-breeders, their pasture lands being,
however, more strictly fixed than among the Kaizak.
[197] Some of them are also engaged in trading. Of all the
Kirghis group their language is the most nearly related
to that of the Western Turks.[1]

101 This may be explained by the fact that they belong
174 to the stream of Turks who participated in the westward migration some ten centuries ago.

Speaking of the origin of the Kara-Kalpak or Chornyie Klobuki, as they were called in Kieff-Russia, P. Golubowski[2] says that they were a mixture of Ghuz Turks, Pyechenyeg, and others, and that they formed that remnant of the Ghuz Turks who remained in Russia when the new wave of Turkic invaders from Asia—the Polovtsy—drove the other part of their tribe across the Danube. The remnants of the Ghuz, together, possibly, with other Turks, settled on the Russian borderlands, accepted Christianity, and were known as the Kara-Klobuk (Kara-Kalpak), while some of them moved back to Asia, and, according to V. Moshkoff, about 70,000 of them live until now in Bessarabia under the name of Ghaghauzy (Gagauzy).[3] Whether the Kara-Kalpak not living in Asia are the same as the Kara-

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[1] A. Maksimoff, 'The Kara-Kalpak', vol. XXIII, p. 454, of the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, ed. Jeleznoff.

[2] *The Pyechenyegi, the Torki and the Polovtsy until the Tatar Invasion*, Kieff, 1884, p. 151.

[3] V. Moshkoff, *Examples of the Folk-Literature of the Turkic Tribes*, St. Petersburg, 1904, p. xxii.

Kalpak who in the eleventh century were the borderland 101 population of Southern Russia, it is difficult to ascertain, 174 but possibly they re-migrated to Asia from European Russia in the eighteenth century, where Howorth thinks they formed one tribe of the Nogai-Pyechenyeg on the Yaik River.[1]

The Turanian Turks.

It is impossible to draw a well-defined line between 101 the Iranian and the Turanian groups of the Eastern Turks. Thus the Kaizak, who are here reckoned among the Iranian Turks, are in many respects closely allied to the Kara-Kirghis, who may be called the descendants of the Yenisei Kirghis. They have also affinities with the Turks of Eastern Turkestan, of Northern Mongolia, and of Siberia, all of whom might be called Turanian.

It is important to bear in mind that at present the 177 adjective 'Turanian', as applied to these people, really 101 means that they are under Mongolian, Chinese, and Tibetan cultural influences, while they have also retained to some extent the original traits of their pre-Mahometan Turkic culture. The Iranian group has fewer traits of this old Turkic culture left, owing to the predominance of Persian and Arabic cultural elements, and when we pass to the Western Turks, the infiltration of Mediterranean and Central European influence leaves few points of resemblance, other than language, between them and the Turanian Turks living one on each side of the main mass of Turkic-speaking peoples.

THE KIRGHIS, as has been said,[2] are to be distinguished

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[1] H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. II, p. 5.

[2] [See category 116 p39 - - Analyst]

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177 from the people erroneously called Kirghis, namely the Kaizak, who were dealt with among the Iranian Turks. The Kirghis, or 'Eastern Kirghis', are as a matter of fact, together with the Altai 'Tatars' and the Kirei, the truest representatives of the Turanian Turks. The name seems to be derived[1] from *kir* (*kr*), 'cultivated field', and shows that these people were originally agriculturists, as indeed we know they were during at least the period from the sixth century up to the time when the occupation of the upper Yenisei, first by the Mongol Altyn Khan, and then by the Russians, forced many of them to migrate farther south, and to take up a pastoral life. Even now part of them are agriculturists and hunters, and it is only that section which was subjected to the most frequent migrations that have adopted what may be called horse-culture. This may be defined as a mode of life dependent on cattle and especially horse breeding, hence their nomadic habits. They use the horse for riding, he provides them with food, and to a certain extent with clothing, while for heavy draught work it is the dromedary which is chiefly used.

101 The Kirghis are called by the Russians 'Eastern', 'Burut', 'Black' (Kara), or 'Mountain' Kirghis; the latter is used to distinguish them from the Kaizak Kirghis of the plains. Their home was since the beginning of our era in the valley of the Yenisei, whence they moved south under the advance of the

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773 [1] Another derivation of the name is *kyrk kys*, meaning 'forty girls', and the legend tracing the Kirghis from forty women from China who married forty men of U-si seems to uphold this (Schott, 'Über die ächten Kirgisen', *Abhandl. Berliner Akad.*, 1865, p. 432). But as a matter of fact the name by which they call themselves is not Kirghis but Krgyz.

Russians. Some few of them still live in the upper Yenisei valley, where they are mixed with the Abakan 'Tatars', but the majority of them are now to be found south of Yarkand, round by Pamir and Alai, to the north of Kashgar and Aksu (the Issyk-kul district). Many of them are known under their clan-names, others form the nation of the *Kara-Kirghis*. 101

The Kara-Kirghis fall into two branches, a right branch, called Ong, and a left, called Sol. The Ong branch is divided into two groups, Edigzne and Tagai. The Tagai group is composed of seven clans:[1] 618

1. Bugu (Stag), near the River Tekes, and to the east of Lake Issyk-kul.
2. Sary Bagish (Yellow Elk), to the south and west of Lake Issyk-kul.
3. Solto, south of the River Chu.
4. Sayak.
5. Cherik (Army) in Ferghana.
6. Chong Bagish (Great Elk), west of Kashgar.
7. Bassyz.

The Sol branch is less numerous, and lives chiefly along the River Talas. It includes three clans, Saru, Koshi, and Munduz.

All these Kirghis clans are related by intermarriage to the Naiman and the Kipchak, who, however, are reckoned to be quite a different nation.

It must be noted that Kirghis occurs also as a clan-name among the Usbegs and the Altaians.

The Kara-Kirghis have clan *tamgas* like the Kaizak, but the headship of their clan is a hereditary office, in contradistinction to the custom of the Kaizak, whose heads are elected. The head of the Kara-Kirghis clan is called *manap*, and the head of a confederation of clans is called aga-manap.

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[1] Aristoff, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

000 clans is called *aga-manap*. A comparison of the social structure of the Kara-Kirghis with that of the Kaizak shows that the former is of a type more suited to the needs of a sedentary people, and the latter to those of nomads.

● 101 The comparative isolation of the Kirghis from any but Turkic tribes gives some assurance that their customs have more right than those of many other tribes to be taken as typically Turkic. A picture of their marriage ceremony may be of interest in this connexion.

583 In general the wife is purchased, but as the bride-price (*kalym*) is usually paid in instalments there exists a special *rite de passage* between the arrangement of the
585 marriage and the final wedding ceremony. After the first part of the bride-price is paid, the bridegroom and his companions, bringing rich presents to the bride's family and to the match-makers, drive to the *aul* (village) of the bride, in the neighbourhood of which he halts. Meanwhile the *djinai* (female match-makers) prepare a special tent, to which they lead the bridegroom, while the bride is carried away from her parents to another tent belonging to some relative. Then a feast is held by the bride's parents, at which neither the bridegroom nor the bride is present. Late at night the *djinai* conduct the bride and bridegroom from their separate tents to the house of the bride's parents. The bride resists ceremonially, while the bridegroom is ceremonially hindered from reaching the house by the *djinai*, one of whom pretends to be a fierce dog, another a wild cow, and so on.

Early in the morning the bridegroom goes away, and for the whole day he must avoid his parents-in-law. This goes on for about a fortnight, after which the

bridegroom leaves the *aul*. Some time after, when the 585
whole *kalym* is paid, he returns to fetch his wife, who again pretends to defend herself, and to be loath to leave her parents' *aul*. There is a show of taking her away by force. The first stage of the marriage, when [606]
the bridegroom lives in the house of the bride's parents, in regard to whom he must observe the custom of avoidance, cannot be dispensed with even if the whole *kalym* is paid at once.

Among some other Turks, such as the Turkomans and the Kazan 'Tatars', the period during which the bride remains with her people after the first marriage ceremony extends over several months, or even a couple of years.

The Kirghis are strictly exogamous as far as the 582
blood-clan is concerned. Before marriage a young woman is allowed a good deal of freedom with the men of her own clan, but custom forbids her to meet men of other clans.[1]

THE SIBERIAN TURKS[2] fall into two groups, one 101 ●
consisting of the nation of the Yakut, the other of a conglomerate of clans and tribes known as the 'Siberian Tatars'; various branches of them are called according

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[1] P., 'The Customs of the Kirghis of the Semipalatinsk Territory', *Russian Messenger*, 1878, No. 9, pp. 32-7; A. Levshin, *Description of the Kirghis-Kaisak Hordes and Steppes*, 1832, pp. 100-102; P. E. Makovyetski, *Materials for the Study of the Juridical Customs of the Kirghis*, 1890, pp. 16-19; N. Grodekoff, *The Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis of the Syr Daria Territory*, pp. 63-5.

[2] To be distinguished from these Siberian Turks, who have been settled in the country since the very beginning of our era, are the 'Tatars' who migrated back from European Russia fairly recently. In 1897 the number of these in Asiatic Russia was 94,000, in 1911 they numbered 124,000. They are partly Nogai of the northern Caucasus, and partly Kazan 'Tatars', and many of them differ from the Russian colonists only in their Mahometan religion.

● 101 to their geographical distribution: the 'Baraba Tatars', the 'Altaians', the 'Abakan Tatars', and so on.

The *Yakut*, who are now the northernmost branch of Turkic-speaking people, live along the River Lena right up to the Arctic shore, and in the region between the Lena
[162] and the Yenisei as far south as Lake Baikal. They are superior in numbers to all the 'Siberian Tatars' taken together. In 1911 they numbered 245,000, as against 225,000 in 1897, while the 'Tatars' numbered 208,000 in 1911, plus some 4,000 people classed by the Russian officials as 'Turks of undefined nationality', as against 175,000 in 1897, plus some 3,000 'Turks of undefined nationality'.[1]

233 [178] Under the influence of their new environment[2] the Yakut have been driven to take up reindeer-breeding and a nomadic tundra life, but in their social and religious institutions survivals of the more settled conditions of their southern home are still to be seen.[3]

Of all the Turks of Asia the Yakut are the most typical representatives of what may be spoken of as 'reindeer-culture'.[4] The reindeer is to this region what the horse is to the Central Asian steppe-nomads. It supplies food, clothes, bone-implements, and is used for draught work. But while the people who have been living for a long time at the stage of reindeer-culture, such as the Koryak of the north-east or the Samoyed of the north-west, never use reindeer for riding, the Yakut ride their reindeer as their ancestors rode the horse, a practice which is looked upon with disfavour

by their neighbours. It must be remembered that while the reindeer is not known to the Turks of Tian-Shan and the upper Yenisei, the latter people have several other species of deer, especially the elk (*Cervus alces*) and the maral (*Cervus elephas*). The domesticated deer is rare. 233

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[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, pp. 79–80.

[2] See p. 41.

[3] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 1914, pp. 107, 277, 297.

[4] B. Laufer, 'The Reindeer and its Domestication', *Mem. of the Amer. Anthrop. Assoc.*, vol. IV, No. 2, 1917.

Forming a wedge between the Tungusic and the Palaeo-Siberian tribes, the Yakut impose their language, together with many of their customs, on both these groups, as well as on the Russian settlers. In religion they are typical Shamanists. 177 [791]

On meeting a Yakut among the various Mongoloid peoples of the north, one is at once struck with the difference in his physiognomy. His hair and eyes are darker, his nose narrower and better marked, and on the whole he gives the impression of possessing Southern, and one might almost say Semitic, characteristics. And yet he can hardly be suspected of having any Arabic strain. 142

The *Siberian Tatars* live chiefly in the Tomsk and Yeniseisk Governments. In the Tomsk Government, 70 per cent. of them do not know any language but their own; the remaining 30 per cent. speak Russian also. In the Yeniseisk Government only 12 per cent. speak the Russian language besides their own. 101 191

As to their religion some of them are Mahometans, namely: 779 101

1. Tobolsk Tatars and 'Siberian Bokharians' of the Tobolsk district.
2. The Baraba Tatars of the Kainsk district.
3. The Tomsk Tatars of the Mariinsk district.
4. The Kuznietsk Tatars of the Kuznietsk and Barnaul district.

Others[1] are still Shamanists or 'Christian-Shamanists', 101 177 791

[1] [i.e. Siberian Tartars--- Analyst]

101 people who mix their pagan practices with some of the
177 Russian Orthodox Church beliefs. Those are:

791 5. The Forest (Chern) Tatars of the Biisk district.
6. The Teleut and Telengit of the Biisk and Kuznietsk districts.
7. The Kumandits (or 'White Kalmucks') of the Kuznietsk and Biisk districts.
8. The Shortes and Lebyedints of the Kuznietsk district.
9. The Kyzyl and Chulim natives of the Achinsk district.
10. The Abakan Tatars (Kachints, Koibal, Beltir, and Sagai) of the Minusinsk district.
11. The Karagass of the Nijneudinsk district of the government of Irkutsk.
12. The Kamashints of the Kansk district.

177 The *Teleut* of the Kuznietsk district are perhaps the
101 most Russified, while the *Telengit*, along the rivers
144 Biya and Katun, are very much mixed with the Mongols. The following tribes are said to be mixed with the Ugrian-Ostyak, the Yenisei-Ostyak, and the Samoyed, though in culture, language, and tradition they are now Turkic:

1, The Kamashints; 2, the Karagass; 3, the Koibal; 4, the Beltir; 5, the Kyzyl; 6, the Shortes; 7, the Kumandints.

144 The racial origin of these tribes has been defined,
618 often superficially, merely judging from the names of their clans. Thus the Kyzyl (*Kysi*, 'man') are composed of ten classes: Kyzyl, Malo-Achin, Bolshe-Achin, Agy, Bassagar, Kamnar, Argyn, Kalmak, Kurchik, Shui. Of these, Argyn clan is said to be the remnant of the Kaizak of the Middle Orda, because those people have also had a clan of this name. Kalmak clan is also

found among the Teleut, and Shui among Yenisei Ostyak, hence the admixture of the two races is attributed to Kyzyl by Radloff.[1] 618 144

Most of the Siberian Tatars, as well as Northern Uriankhai, call themselves Tuba, either exclusively or alongside with their tribal name, *Tuba* being the name of one of their clans. This name *Tuba, Tubas, Tupo* or *Doubo*, like the word *Tatar*, should be used with great caution, until its origin and meaning have been more clearly defined. It seems to have been adopted by the Chinese as a collective term for the people living in the Southern Yenisei Region, probably along the river of this name, the right tributary of the Yenisei. The Russian historians of Siberia, Miller[2] and Fischer,[3] mention the people of Tuba as paying tribute to the Mongol Altyn Khan, and opposing for a long time Russian conquest, but it is not clear whether this name had a racial meaning, designating, e. g., the extinct Arine, Kottes, &c., or the Samoyed, or was used only as a geographical term for all peoples living near the River Tuba. Now at any rate it does not seem to be limited entirely to the tribes whom one can suspect of having some Samoyed blood in them, for it is found among the Altaians, whom even Castrén and Kostroff with all their 'Pan-Samoyedic' theory could not call 'Tatarised Samoyed'. It is found moreover among the *Kachints*, who, according to Katanoff,[4] were Kuchum-Khan people, who moved to the River Kacha, near Krasnoyarsk, after the defeat of Kuchum, and farther 101 174

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[1] A. A. Yariloff, *The Kyzyl and their Industry*, 1899, p. 1.

[2] G. F. Miller, *Description of the Tsardom of Siberia* (1750).

[3] J. E. Fischer, *Sibirische Geschichte* (1768).

[4] 'Legends relating to old deeds and old people among the tribes living near the Sayan Mountains', *Mem. I. R. G. S.*, vol. XXXIV, 1909, p. 280.

101 south later on. But its distribution is still wider: the 174 eastern neighbours of the Uriankhai, the *Darkat* and the *Uigur*, living on the shores of Lake Kossogol, have a clan called Tuba, though no tribe here uses this name for itself as a whole. The Darkat now speak a Mongolian language, but in tradition they seem to have more in common with the Turks than with the Mongols.

The *Tuba* is not the only clan-name so widely spread; there are others, such as Kirghis, Sokka, Oirat Ari, &c., while some clan-names, such as Kaska among the 175 Kachints, are peculiar to one tribe. On the whole, the Siberian Tatars cannot be compared to the Kaizak with regard to their memory of the tribal and clan past. Katanoff[1] found that this lack of tradition seems to characterize all the Turks known as 'Tatars'. 'The Kazan Tatars do not have any written or oral record relating to the important fact of the fall of Kazan, under the pressure of Ivan the Terrible, and the Tobolsk Tatars scarcely have any records giving accounts of the Tsar Kuchum and his wars with the Russians. But perhaps the fault rests more with Kuchum's personality, for it is not so much the events which are important in history as the personality of heroes that inspire the oral tradition. Thus a certain hero Kangza, unknown in history, has very many tales devoted to him among the Teleut (Radloff), the Altaians (Vyerbitski), and the Abakan Tatars (Katanoff).

101 Of all the Siberian Tatars the most interesting ethnologically are the *Chern* (in Russian) or *Black Forest 'Tatars'*, also known as *Altaians*, though the name Altaians is wider and includes also some other Tatars, such as the Kumandints. The Altaians call themselves

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 267.

Iish Kysi (*Iish*, 'black forest', 'chern'; *Kysi*, 'men'). 101 ● In language and religion they keep free from foreign admixture, they are therefore typical Turanian Turks. Their mode of life is sedentary whenever the environment allows them to practise agriculture. In religion they are Shamanists.

The Turks of North-Western Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan. While the Altaians or Chern 'Tatars' occupy the Northern Altai, there lives in the Southern, so-called Little Altai, along the Black Irtish, in Jungaria and in Eastern Turkestan, another Turkic tribe, a rival of the Altaians as representative of the pure Turanian type. This is the tribe called *Kirei*, *Kerrit*, *Kerrait*, or *Kirai*. The chief distinction between the Kirei and the Altaians is now a religious one, the Kirei being Mahometans. We know that from the [795] eleventh to the thirteenth centuries they were adherents of Christianity in the form of Nestorianism, and it is among them that the fabulous Christian king Prester John (probably the native king Ouang-Khan, a contemporary of Jinghis Khan) is said to have lived. In [821] mode of life they are at present nomads, and are well known as hunters.[1]

The Kirei are sometimes called *Kirei-Kirghis*, and it is possible that in the period from the beginning of [174] our era till the sixth century, when the Kirghis were spreading in the basin of the upper Yenisei, one clan, the Kirei, were left behind, and settled in the Kemchik valley. Again, when in the seventeenth century the Yenisei-Kirghis were retiring before the Russian advance, from the Minusinsk steppes southwards to Jungaria and Mongolia, some of them may have settled

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[1] D. Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia*, vol. II, pp. 351–5.

101 among the Kirei, who had meanwhile become to some
extent Mongolized.[1]

To the south-west of the Kirei, in Kulja and in the
western part of Chinese Turkestan, on the slopes of
the Tian-Shan, live remnants of various Turanian
Turks, sometimes called *Kashgarians*, many of whom
are perhaps the direct descendants of the old Uigur,
and possibly have also a strain of the pre-Turkic Aryan
population of which traces are still to be found in
Central Asia. In language, and probably in physical
[179] type, they are among the purest Turanians. Most of
them, especially those who are Chinese subjects, are
Mahometans. They are chiefly cattle-breeders. Such
are the *Yerlik*, the *Kashgarlik*, and the *Yetisherlik*.
Those subject to Russia number some 54,000 (in 1911).
[178] Since the great upheaval caused by the conquests of
Jinghis Khan, and the migrations which followed, these
people have remained stationary to a degree impossible
anywhere but in the heart of the Asiatic continent, but
it is not impossible that under a helpful and sympathetic
government all of them, whether Russian or Chinese
subjects, might awake to play their part in the future
history of Asia.

The country to the east of the region occupied by
the Chern 'Tatars' or Altaians, and to the south of
that occupied by the Abakan 'Tatars', i.e. that part
of the Yeniseisk Government between the Sayan Moun-
tains and the Tannu Ola range, is called Uriankhai, and
its 100,000 inhabitants are usually grouped together
under the same name, Uriankhai, sometimes in its
167 Chinese form, *Uriangut*. The northern part of the
country, along the River Ussa, began to be colonized

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[1] **While Vambéry and Cahun reckon the Kirei as Turks, Skrine and Ross reckon them as Mongols. See note to p. 72.**

by the Russians in 1856, and was practically annexed 167 by them in 1886. The whole country became almost independent of China after Mongolia declared its independence in 1914, and the old Russian Government, intending to occupy this rich pasture land, had begun to colonize it energetically. This aroused some opposition among the natives, who, having scarcely felt their dependence on China, were not prepared to give up their best lands to the Russian Colonization Committee. Many Uriankhai have for the last three years been moving in clan order, with all their herds, into the steppes of Northern Mongolia. This is, in fact, the most recent *en masse* migration in Central Asia. It has ceased, however, since the Russian Revolution, owing to the influence exercised by Siberian scholars and public men, such as G. Potanin and A. Adrianoff, in the protection of the rights of the natives.[1]

The Uriankhai are sometimes called *Soyot* (sing. 101 *Soyan*, from the clan-name *Saya*). But it is not certain whether this name ought to be applied to all of them. The name by which they call themselves in the North is *Tuba*.

According to the East Turkic scholar Katanoff, the 197 language of the Uriankhai is Turko-Tatar,[2] but of 144 course they are now mixed to a great extent with the Mongols. It must be remembered that Castrén and some of his followers are inclined to see in the Uriankhai members of the original Samoyed-Yeniseian race, who mixed with the Turks and adopted a Turkic language.[3]

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[1] See articles in *Sibirskaya Jisn*, Feb. 26, 1916, May 3, 1917.

[2] E. K. Yakovleff, *Ethnographical Survey of the Native Population of the Valley of Southern Yenisei*, Minusinsk, 1900, p. 18.

[3] M. A. Castrén, *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*, vol. IV, pp. 83-6; D. Carruthers, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 20, 52-5, 200; vol. V, pp. 116-17.

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The first name now identified as that of the ancestors of the Turks is *Hiung-nu*. According to Professor Parker,[1] there exists 'a Hiung-nu tradition that about 1200 B.C. a (Chinese) royal personage who had most probably been misconducting himself fled to the nomads of the north and founded among them a sort of dynasty'. The Chinese are concerned with their neighbours on the north-west, the Hiung-nu, and on the north-east, the *Tung-hu* (subsequently Tungus), only so far as these barbarians annoyed them. The Emperors of the Tsin dynasty (255–209 B.C.) built the Great Wall to protect their northern frontiers, and this directed the strategic movements of the Hiung-nu in the second century B.C. towards the west. It is possible that some branches of them may have migrated westwards before the construction of the Great Wall, and then continued to develop quietly in their new home, otherwise it is hard to understand the high degree of organized culture in which we find them in the Altai and Yenisei region about 200 B.C.,[2] when we hear that the Kirghis and the Usuni were already there, and had found some remnants of still earlier Turkic immigrants. They may possibly have been in possession of this region already in the Bronze Age, unless, of course, we assume the independent origin of the Altai and Yenisei Turks, and take

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[1] E. H. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, 1895, p. 3. Another Chinese translator, Father Jakinth Bichurin, gives a different version of the origin of the Hiung-nu dynasty: Shun-wei, son of the last emperor of the Hia dynasty, went in 1764 B.C. to Mongolia, and there started the Hiung-nu dynasty. Bichurin considers the Hiung-nu to be Mongols. (*Collection of Information concerning Peoples living in Central Asia*, 1851, vol. I.)

[2] N. A. Aristoff, *Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition*, &c., p. 460.

175 when both of them were subdued by the Hun-nu, their two tribes intermingled, and a part of them migrated to the northern outskirts of their territory, to escape the despotic rule of their conquerors, the Hun-nu. It is possible to look upon these groups as the earliest Kaizak organization, later imitated by the Cossacks.

All these probably Turkic tribes, and many remnants of 'Aryan' peoples and states in Central Asia, were under the rule of Mété,[1] who divided his empire into twenty-four parts, governed by six princes and six administrators. Within each part a strictly military organization prevailed, with units of 10, 100, 1000, and 10,000 men.

Nineteen of these twenty-four groups were composed of Uigur. Ten of them formed a confederation called On-Uigur, and nine another confederation called Togus-Uigur. The latter lived to the north of the On-Uigur. Professor Radloff thinks that as the bulk of the Hun-nu Empire was composed of On-Uigur, it is possible that the name Hun-nu is only a corrupt form of On-Uigur, On-Ui.[2]

The Chinese feared the power of the Hun-nu so much that about the middle of the second century B.C. they tried to make a defensive alliance with the Yüe-Chi, who, at the end of the pre-Christian era and the beginning of our own, formed one of the most powerful empires of Central Asia. Though that attempt failed, we hear that the Hun-nu, after having defeated the

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[1] Though Professor Radloff reckoned the Yüe-Chi as a Turkic tribe, it is more probable that they were a Tung-hu tribe surrounded by Turkic people, with whom the Chinese confused them. They are later known as Kushan.

[2] Radloff, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

in connexion with the Khakas are in a Turkic language.[1] 175 After the ninth century the Chinese no longer speak of them as Khakas, but as Kili-ki-dze, which, according to Klements, is a Chinese pronunciation of the name Kirghis. The time of the greatest development of the Kirghis belongs to the seventh to ninth centuries, i. e. to the second period of Turkic history.

The Uigur are first heard of about the second century B. C., and the Chinese had constant relations with them from that time till the sixteenth century, so that the history of the Uigur runs through all the first three periods of Turkic history. But as the evolution of this important tribe is an essential part of the history of the Turks in Central Asia it will be useful to give here a consecutive account of them in some detail.

The Uigur were known to the Chinese under the 175 names Hao-Hui, Kao-Che, Kan-Hui, Vei-He, U-He, 101 U-Hu, Hon-He, and Hu. It was through the various Asiatic transliterations of the name Uigur that European writers came across it. The first mention of it is found in Ptolemy.[2] In its present form the name seems first to have been used in the Mahometan histories at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[3] Rashid al-Dīn says that in his time the name Uigur was applied to a large group of Turkic tribes living between the sources of the Yenisei and the Selenga. But after this, in fact until the seventeenth century, most of the Eastern Turks were known under this name.

While most Turkic scholars, such as Rashid al-Dīn,

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[1] N. N. Kosmin, *D. A. Klements and Historical and Ethnographical Research in the Minusinsk Country*, Irkutsk, 1916, p. 7.

[2] *Serica*, Liber IV, p. 16, 3.

[3] Skrine and Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

175 Abul Ghazi, Kasem Beg, Vambéry, Klaproth, and
● 101 Schott, derive the name Uigur from a Turkic root, J. I. Schmidt refers it to the Mongolian language, and places the origin of the Uigur people in Tibet.[1] If we accept Professor Radloff's view that the bulk of the Hun-nu, or rather the southern branch of them, were the On-Uigur, then we know that most of them moved towards the west along the steppes lying north of Tian-Shan. But the people who played their part in the history of Central Asia were those of the On-Uigur who remained behind in Eastern Turkestan, especially in the basin of the Tarim, and the Togus-Uigur in the northern part of the present Mongolia. That branch of them who were already established near the Aral Sea in the second century A. D. are often called by their neighbours simply *On* or *Onlar* ('Ten').[2] Later, when after the death of Attila the Hunnic Empire broke into separate tribes, they again assumed their tribal names, viz. On-Uigur, Utigur, Sary-Uigur, Kotrigur, while the name Hun almost disappears. Of these tribes, the On-Uigur are known to have been in the north of the Caucasus in the seventh century, on their way back to Asia.[3]

174 It is difficult to follow the exact fate of these remnants of the Hun-nu Empire. Presumably a part of them settled among the Finnic tribes of the steppe forest near the Urals, but there is so far very little proof in support of the somewhat vague assumption that the

[1] *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Völker Mittelasiens*, St. Petersburg, 1824, p. 95.

[619] [2] Among the Turks a confederation of tribes very often has as its name the number of the tribes composing it, e.g. Uz, 100, probably the same as Ghuz. Radloff, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[3] Radloff, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

175 a new political power, that of the Islamic Uigur dynasty of Ilek Khan, arose, and its domination spread as far as Bokhara. But the advance of the Kara-Kidan once more overthrew the power of the Uigur, who were obliged to recognize the suzerainty of the Kara-Kidan. These in their turn succumbed before Jinghis Khan. Yet even in the times of the Mongolic rule of Jinghis Khan the Uigur culture did not fail to make itself felt, and still later it was able to produce the well-known Nestorian patriarchs, Rabban Cauma and Jabalaha.[1]

Second Period. It is not easy to trace the history of any other Turkic tribe with the same continuity. Turning to the Tu-kiu, with whom begins the second period of the history of the Turks in Central Asia, we meet with them first about A.D. 550, at the time when the Sassanides were reigning in Persia, when we find them living, under the name of Assena, between the Altai and the Syr Daria.

● 101 Professor Parker derives the word Tu-kiu from the Turkic word *durkö*, meaning 'helmet', from the shape of the mountain to which the Turkic tribe of Assena migrated to escape from the despotic rule of the Sien-pi (Tung-hu). They seem, however, not to have been independent even there, since they had to serve the then powerful Jwen-Jwen as workers in iron.[2] They adopted the name of the mountain Durkö as a tribal name.

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[1] J. B. Chabot, *Histoire du Patriarche Mar Jabalaha III et du Moine Rabban Cauma*, traduite du Syriaque, 1893, vol. I, p. 578.

[174] [2] The Jwen-Jwen (Zhu-Zhu) are possibly the ancestors of the Avars, who appeared in Europe in the sixth century, and forming a wedge between the Eastern and Western Slavs, soon amalgamated with them. Blochet identifies the name Jwen-Jwen with Ib-Ib, Ibim, Ibil, Ibir, from which he derives Sybir, Siberia, and he believes the Jwen-Jwen to be of Tungus stock, and identical with the Sien-pi ('Le Nom des Turcs dans l'Avesta', *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 305).

175 from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the seventh centuries—the Turks of Central Asia were again united and independent, as at the time of Mété. Soon, however, the eastern part of the empire passed under Chinese domination. Then it again became independent under the Uigur dynasty (A. D. 744–847).

177 The western part of the Tumen Empire escaped the domination of the Chinese only to fall under Arabian influence, and subsequently under the intellectual supremacy of Iran, during the renaissance of Iranian culture under the dynasty of the Samanides in the tenth century. Thus the splendour of Transoxania at that time was obviously the work of the Persians, not of the Turks, who must be judged rather by the civilization of the Eastern Empires. It was from these Eastern Empires that the main migrations of the Turks of that epoch originated.

From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries the Turks under Karluk[1] and Seljuk advanced into Turkestan, increasing the Turkic population there and destroying the Iranian culture. Some of them pushed on farther towards Asia Minor, while others followed a northern route via the Caspian and Black Sea steppes.

● 101 Four main groups of Turkic invaders of Southern Russia can be distinguished between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries: the Pyechenyeg or Kangli, the Khazar (possibly the plural of Khazak, Kaizak), the Uz (Ghuz) or Turki, and the Kuman (Kipchak) or Polovtsy.[2]

[101] [1] A. Vambéry identifies the people of Karluk with the tribe of Naiman, and says that they were Turks (*op. cit.*, p. 15). Cahun would also class the tribe of Naiman, as well as the other Christian tribe, the Kirei, as Turks (*op. cit.*, pp. 208–9), while Skrine and Ross class both Kirei and Naiman as Mongols (*op. cit.*, p. 152).

[2] P. Golubowski, *op. cit.*, p. 56. See p. 46.

175 always influenced by Chinese civilization and the Hiung-nu by Chinese plus Iranian.[1] This will explain why Jinghis Khan himself and all his dynasty were under obligations to Turkic culture. We hear that Jinghis Khan had as preceptor for his sons a Uigur Turk named Tatatungo,[2] and in the religious and cultural toleration he is known to have shown to the conquered countries the preference was given to the Turks. Two Turkic sovereigns contemporary with Jinghis Khan, Ouang Khan ('Prester John') of the Kirei and Tai-Yang-Khan of the Naïman, were devoted Nestorian Christians.

● 101 Thanks to the researches of Rashid al-Dīn, it is

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[1] Such would be the view obtained from as independent a standpoint as possible. It must be remembered, however, that Mongolian scholars would be ready to find a much larger Mongol element present in pre-Jinghis Khan times, and would attribute the Jinghis Khan conquests to the genius of the Mongolic race. There are tribes, such as the ancient 'Tatars'—some of them, namely the Otui and Tokus 'Tatars', mentioned in the inscriptions of Bilghe Khan in the Orkhon valley as dependent on Turkic *ela* (confederacy)—whom Mongolian scholars such as Father Jakinth Bichurin would reckon with the Mongols, while the Turkic scholar N. A. Aristoff reckons them with the Turks. And if a Tungus scholar cared to trace the origin of the name Tatar (a subdivision of Tatan) in the Chinese annals as translated by Bichurin, he would find that the name Tatan was adopted in the ninth century by a branch of the Mo-ho (Mokho) who were descendants of Sushen and Ilu, now recognized as being of Tungus race. In the twelfth century the Tatan confederacy was composed of Mongol, Khere, Taigut, and Tatar tribes. Bichurin gives Jinghis Khan as one of the four princes belonging to it. (W. Thomsen, 'On the Orkhon and Yenisei Monuments with Inscriptions', *J. Min. Educ.*, June, 1898; J. Bichurin, *Notes on Mongolia*, vol. II, pt. iii, pp. 174-7; N. A. Aristoff, 'Notes on the Ethnic Composition of the Turkic Tribes and Nations', *L. A. T.*, 1896, III and IV, pp. 277-456.)

[2] Skrine and Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

possible to obtain a clear idea of the tribes inhabiting 141 Central Asia in his time. From his knowledge of them, 144 and the information he collected, he divides them into three groups: (1) the Ogus Turks and their kindred, of purely Turkic blood; (2) the tribes which were taken for Mongols in the thirteenth century, but who were in fact Mongolized Turks; (3) the tribes of purely Mongol blood, who lived on the eastern and northern outskirts of the Turkic lands.[1] Hence the tribes called pure Turks by Rashid al-Dīn probably inhabited the lands which are known to have recovered their Turkic features after the death of Jinghis Khan.

Of the states that arose after the death of Jinghis 175 Khan in 1227 the most Turkic were the Middle Empire (Eastern and Western Turkestan), ruled over by his son Jagatai and his descendants, and Dasht-i-Kipchak, i. e. the country of the lower Volga, the North Caspian Steppes, the Aral Steppes, and Western Siberia, ruled over by another son, Juji, and his descendants.

Turkic in feeling and in culture as were Jagatai and his line, they were succeeded in 1360 by Timur, a chief of Moghulistan, purely Turkic in blood as in sympathies, who founded the brilliant Timurid dynasty.[2] 'The annals of this house were rendered illustrious by the names of poets, philosophers, and theologians which are still household words throughout the East.'[3] Among its famous members was the great general, philosopher, and writer Mirza Baber, whose Memoirs still remain as a monument in the Jagatai language.[4]

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[1] Radloff, *Concerning the Uigur*, p. 1.

[2] L. Cahun (*op. cit.*) takes Timur to be a descendant of Jagatai.

[3] Skrine and Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[4] See p. 27.

Hazara AU5
Turkic Peoples RL4

A While they are more primi-
464 tive and intellectually inferior to the ruling Afghans, they are physi-
701 cally very sturdy and brave, and their honest and simple natures,
H free from all fanaticism, give them an attractive personality. Those
462 who have taken service in the Indian army and in railroad con-
142 struction are almost as highly spoken of as the Gurkhas of Nepal,
181 whom they also resemble physically. Outside of their own mountain
fastnesses in the Hazarajat, where they are today relatively undisturbed, they supply most of the unskilled labor for road building etc., and their position differs but little from that of serfs. In the Afghan army they have been organized into several battalions of sappers and miners.

H Aside from their distinctly Mongolian type the Hazaras—at least
144 the western clans—may be readily recognized by their small conical
291 headdress of bright-colored calico, lined with fur or sheepskin which forms a fringe around the edge.

A

F. CHAHAR AYMAKS (250,000).

162 These are four semipastoral tribes of northwestern Afghanistan
T closely related to the Hazaras, but belonging to the Sunni persua-
● 101 sion. Like the Hazaras they are of pure Tartar or Mongolian origin
144 and possess all the physical and mental attributes of their kinsmen
795 further to the south. But being less numerous and less fiercely inde-
pendent than the Hazaras they never had to suffer so much at the
197 hands of the central government, especially as they appear to have become Sunnis (with some exceptions) at an early period. They speak either Turki or Persian dialects, and even a mixture of both.

A (a) The *Taimanis* (160,000) are the most numerous of these four
162 tribes. They occupy the Ghorat, i. e., the mountains between the
T Hari Rud and the Ghor, where the medieval Kingdom of Ghor
162 (10th–13th centuries A. D.) must have been located. They are not
exclusively nomads, but also cultivators of the soil. Intermarriage
291 has slightly modified the original Mongolian type. Their dress is
197 more like that of the Tajiks than the Hazaras, and they wear the
101 turban. Their language is largely Turki.

(b) *Firozkohis* (50,000) roam the entire watershed of the Murghab River, north of the Band-i-Baba Range. They are said to have come from the Firoz-koh mountain (near Samnan, in North Persia) although they look more Mongolian than the other Aymaks. They speak Persian and wear a turban like the Uzbegs.

(c) *Jamshedis* (20,000) are found in the district of Badghis, between the Hari Rud and the Russian frontier. They have a reputation for intelligence, honesty, and good horsemanship. Although they dress like the Uzbegs and speak Turki they differ from them by wearing the sheepskin hat.

121 essential than the linguistic one, uniting Central Asia with Constantinople.[1]

A brief review of the Pan-Turanian programme will be necessary before approaching the main object of this essay, i.e. the study of the Eastern or Central Asiatic
● 103 Turks. The term Central Asia, in accordance with Humboldt's definition, embraces the area lying between the Himalayas and the Altai Mountains, the Caspian
000 Sea and Khingan Range. As far as the Western or Osmanly Turks are concerned, they are dealt with in several recent publications, namely, Sir William Ramsay's *The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor* (Oxford University Press, 1916), Professor H. A. Gibbon's *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1916), Lord Eversley's *The Turkish Empire: its Growth and Decay* (Fisher Unwin, 1917), and *Le Problème Turc*, by Count Léon Ostroróg.[2] Though not dealing primarily with the racial question, these books give a vivid picture of the variety of races living under Osmanly (Ottoman) government, and of the artificiality
186 of the ties that unite them. Sir William Ramsay further tells us how the Osmanly government has tried to develop feelings of unity and patriotism among its subjects on the ground of the common participation in
186 the Islamic religion. But Pan-Islamism—Islam not
177 being exclusively the property of the Turks—would in
565 itself hardly serve to strengthen the position of the Turkic elements of the empire against Arabian and
ot[illegible] Mahometans.

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[1] Since these pages were written the British advance in Asiatic Turkey, together with the situation produced by the Russian Revolution, has led the German-Osmanly diplomatists to revise some 'details' of their programme. See Appendix B.

[2] An English version of this work, entitled *The Turkish Enigma*, in Winifred Stephens's translation, has just been announced by Messrs. Chatto & Windus.

669 It would seem that
186 the prolongation of the Russian chaos would encourage the congregation of the Turkic elements, if the dis-association from the other people of the once Russian Empire was their aim. But so far neither the 'All-Russian Mahometan Congress' nor 'Mahometan Regional Councils' separate themselves from the general problems of Russia, even though they express interest in the Mahometans abroad, and the majority favour some kind of federal form of government. The Turkic population of Russia is not more uniform in political opinion than the Slavonic or Finnic branches; and so, the reactionary portion of them guided by Mullahs, and on the whole less affected by the Russian and more by the Central Asian culture, form an opposition to the Mahometan federalists.

The term Turanian.

● 103 The term 'Turan', from which Turanian is derived, is so Asiatic that we do not find it in the Greek authors, though the fact that it occurs in the *Ávesta* in the form Tura points to its ancient origin.

779 It is said in the *Avesta* that Thraetona had three sons, Airya (Arya), who received as his portion Iran; Sairima, who received the western lands; and Tura, to whom fell the oriental lands. Again, Tuirya (Turya) is used in the *Avesta* as an epithet applied to the countries now called Turanian.[1] The people of Tuirya are spoken of as enemies of the people of Airya. Another
538 reference is found in the epic of the Persian poet Firdusi, the Shâh Naméh dating from the tenth century

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[1] E. Blochet, 'Le Nom de Turc dans l'Avesta', *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, pp. 305–9.

A.D.; a prominent figure in this work, the Turkic Khan 538
Afrâsiyâb, is said to have reigned over Tura in the sixth century B.C., and to have been the great foe of Iran.[1] In this poem Turan is placed in the north of Iran.

The name Turan is very often given to the region 103
otherwise called Tartary. Neither of these names is known to the Asiatic Turks, but curiously enough Turan occurs as a clan-name among the Turkic tribe of Sagai, the tribe least mixed with Finnic and Samoyedic people of all the so-called 'Tatars' of Siberia. The Turkic state of Siberia, conquered by the Khan Kuchum in the sixteenth century, is often called also the Turan state, but this name is derived from the name of the River Turu, on the banks of which the town Chingi-Tura (now Tiumien) was erected by the Beg Chingi in the fourteenth century.[2]

Like the term Aryan, 'Turanian' is used chiefly as 101
a linguistic term, equivalent to 'Ural-Altaic' linguistic group.[3] The use of this linguistic term for the designation of a racial group is no more satisfactory than the use of the linguistic term 'Aryan' in the same sense. But still more unscientific is it to apply this adjective to things Turkish, for the Tungusic and the Mongolic languages have just as much right to be called Turanian as the Turkic. However, 'Turanian', not unlike

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[1] Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, p. 115.

[2] P. M. Golovacheff, *Siberia*, Moscow, 1914, p. 35.

[3] Although the term Turanian is now generally applied to the 197
Ural-Altaic languages (Turkic, Tungusic, Mongolic, Samoyedic, and Finnic), it will be remembered that some linguists, for instance Max Müller, give to the Ural-Altaic group the name of North Turanian as against the South Turanian group (Tamulic, Gangetic, Lohitic, Taic, and Malayic) (Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, London, 1861, p. 322).

adopted the name of the mountain Durkö as a tribal 000
name.

There seems to be some confusion as to the geo- 103 ●
graphical position of the mountain thus connected with the rise of the Durkö, Tu-kiu, or Turks. Professor Parker[1] places it not far from the city of Shan-tan in the modern province of Kan-su, which in the sixth century was called Kin-shan, i. e. 'Golden Mountains'. But the birthplace of the Turks is usually held to be the Altai Mountains, which are also called Kin-shan. Since when we first hear of the Turks they are expert metal-workers, it would seem that the Altai, with its incomparable mineral wealth, is more likely to be the Kin-shan of the Chinese sources. All modern archaeological and ethnological investigations support this view.

At the end of the fifth century the Tu-kiu became 175
very prosperous, probably thanks to their metal industry and the richness of the mountains near which they settled, and in A.D. 530 their prince Tumen (Tumin) threw off the yoke of the Jwen-Jwen and soon subjugated all the Turkic states of Central Asia to himself, adopting the title of Il-Khagan.[2] For a short time—

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[1] Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[2] It would seem that the title Khagan (Khan), usually so closely 643
associated with the Turks, and occurring in the Turkic inscriptions 177
of the Orkhon, is not Turkic, but Tungus. But this hypothesis of Blochet holds good only if it be assumed that the Jwen-Jwen were Tungus, and that Tumen used their title after taking the hegemony in Central Asia from them. The title used by the chiefs of the Huns was Chab-gu, and at the time when the Huns were at the height of their power the chiefs of the Jwen-Jwen Tungus adopted the title Chab-gu, until at the beginning of the fifth century they were strong enough to impose on other people their own title of Khagan, which was taken up by Tuimien in 552 (Blochet, *op. cit.*, p. 305).

● 103 The Russians who first colonized this country[2] from the north took up the name Yenisei from the Tungus, whom they met first; they came in contact with the Southern Turks only after they had subjugated the Tungus. But even now, in the upper Yenisei region, the Yenisei is known as the Ulu-Kem, which again is formed by the junction of two streams with Turkic names, Bii-Kem (Bei-Kem) and Kha-Kem (Hua-Kem). These names recall the terms for the two chief rivers of the Altai, Biya (Bi) and Katun (Khatun), which were probably also named by the Turks.

172 2/2 The dense forests of this region made communication between various tribes more difficult than it would have been in the open steppe. Hence arose the necessity of making on the bark of trees, or the flat surface of the rock, signs conveying various kinds of information. These signs, called by the Russians *myety*, gave rise to the pictographic writings called *pisanitsy*. Some of them seem to have been a means of conveying tribal information and a chronicle of events, others to have been connected with the religious cult, and these latter are very much like some of the pictures on the modern shaman's drum.[1] Still others may be nothing more than tribal *tamgas*. Great numbers of such engraved or painted pictographs are met with in the forest region of the northern Altai and upper Yenisei, while they are never found in the open steppes, where communication can be carried on much more easily by means of messengers on horseback or by smoke signals, and where chronicles are handed down by word of mouth.

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[1] N. M. Yadrintseff, *The Ancient Monuments and Inscriptions in Siberia*, pp. 456, 476.

[2] [i.e. the region of the Yenisei --- Analyst]

others form a chorus. The feathered thread is the road 796 by which the song rises to the sky. The meat which has been prepared on the 'senior fire' is taken out and carried round in a circle, in the direction of the sun. After that the meat, with all the articles used in its preparation, is burnt on the 'senior fire', and if the smoke goes straight to the sky it is a good omen for the clan. Then only is the meat which was prepared on the 'junior fire' ceremonially eaten, after which all the bones and remains of the feast have to be burnt on the 'senior fire'.[1]

Ethnography.

The Iranian Turks.

The question now arises, What Turkic nations go to 000 form the group of Iranian Turks?

THE TURKOMANS. Their number in Persia, Khiva, 162 and Bokhara is about 600,000. Of these 290,000 (in 1911, as against 248,000 in 1897) are in Transcaspian territory of Turkestan. Among the Turkomans subject to Russia must also be reckoned the Caucasian Turkomans, some 11,000.[2]

The Turkomans of Turkestan were subjugated by the 177 Russians in 1881 after a stubborn resistance. The Russians put a stop to their slave trade, and from that time they began to be more settled and to take up agriculture. But even now a large proportion are still 105 nomadic horse-breeders, adhering to the customary law

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[1] S. D. Maynagasheff, 'Sacrifice to the Sky among the Beltir', *Literary Collection of the Anthropological Museum of the Acad. of Science*, Petrograd, 1915, vol. III, pp. 93-102.

[2] The Turkomans of the Ottoman Empire, commonly called Turkmen or Avshahr, are not dealt with here.

105 (*ādat*). In religion they are now all Mahometans, in language they belong to the Jagatai Turks. Clan division is still fairly strict among them, and migrations are usually carried out in clans. Their custom of endogamy may be regarded as having as its object the preservation of the purity of their race from foreign admixture. Since the women are inferior in numbers to the men, the *kalym* or bride-price is very high, and in some places the unmarried men form 27 per cent. of the population. Their clans are nine in number, [618] two of them, however, being almost extinct. The chief clans are:

Chaudor, between Khiva and the Caspian;
Yomut, on the south shore of the Caspian, and in south-west Khiva;
Goklan, on Persian soil;
Akhal and *Merv Tekkes*, in the Akhal and Merv oases;
Sarik, on the middle Murgab;
Salor, round Merv and in northern Persia;
Ersari, on the middle Amu Daria, and near Khoya Salih.

[144] Though linguistically and politically classified as Turks, in all these people the Iranian type predominates, in culture as well as in physique.

[162] The Sarts (1,847,000 in 1911, as against 1,458,000 in 1897) live in the Ferghana and Syr Daria territories, and are also to be found sporadically in other parts of Turkestan.

[144] They are a mixture of the original Iranian inhabitants, the Tadjiks, with their Turanian conquerors, the Usbegs. In physical type they approach nearer to the Iranians. They live in villages, called *kishlak*, and their houses, called *sakla*, are made of a compound of wood and clay.

Though engaged chiefly in commerce, they are also successful agriculturists. They know the use of *aryk* or irrigation canals, and are reputed to be the best cultivators of cotton and fruit plantations. On the whole there is only one people who surpass them as agriculturists, namely the Tadjiks,[1] who are supposed to be pure Iranians. 105

The Sarts are Mahometans, Sunnites, many of them followers of the Sufi order. They adhere to the Mahometan written law (*sheriat*). They keep their women more strictly in seclusion than is the case among any other Turkic tribe. This is probably connected with the high degree of organization shown in their religious culture, which exceeds that of the other tribes. They have a great reverence for the Mussulman educational institutions usually to be found in connexion with the Sufi religious orders, and supported by public donations. There are three of these orders in Central Asia, the most ancient of them being in Ferghana. The educational institutions are divided into higher (*Medresse*) and lower (*Mektab*). Besides instruction in religious and legal subjects, the students are given some general knowledge based on mediaeval conceptions; thus Sart geography represents the world as being flat, and surrounded by mountains. In the lower [795] 871

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[1] The Tadjiks are the remnants of the old Aryan population of Central Asia, living chiefly in the Samarkand and Ferghana districts. In 1911 they numbered about 400,000, i.e. 67 per cent. of the total population. The Tadjiks living in the valleys and engaged in agriculture are now scarcely distinguishable in language and physique from their neighbours the Sarts, but the Mountain Tadjiks, or Galcha, are still using their Iranian language, and differ from the dark Turanians around them by reason of their light-coloured hair and skin. 144 162

871 classes some Arabic is taught; in the higher Persian is the language used, but neither of these languages is really mastered.[1] The Russian schools have had less success among the Sarts than among the Kaizak or the Kirghis.

101 THE TARANCHI OR ILI-TAŢARS (83,000 in 1911 as against 70,000 in 1897) live in Semirechie and in the Transcaspian Territory, having migrated to Russian Turkestan from Eastern Turkestan at the same time as the Dungans, that is to say, when Kulja passed under Chinese rule.

● 105 In physical type, culture, language, and religion the Taranchi stand very near to the Sarts; the only difference seems to be in regard to the treatment of their women, who have much greater freedom than among the Sarts, and do not cover their faces. The Taranchi are agriculturists, cultivating especially vegetable gardens, but some of them incline towards commerce.

The Turkomans, Sarts, and Taranchi may be grouped together as the least Turkic of all the Iranian Turks, being now strongly under Persian, as they were in the past under Arabian, influence. And of course it must be remembered that all of them form as it were a stratum overlying the original 'Aryan' population, whose culture was of an Irano-Greek type. But of the three the Taranchi have the closest connexion with the Turanian Turks, being probably the descendants of the old Uigur in Eastern Turkestan.

101 The next to be considered are the Usbegs, and their kindred tribes the Kipchak, the Kaizak (Kaizak-Kirghis), and the Kara-Kalpak.

THE USBEGS (592,150 in 1911 as against 534,825 in

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[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, p. 170.

1897) live in the Samarkand, in some parts of Syr Daria and Ferghana Territories, and in the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara. With them can be classed the **Kipchak** (60,000 in 1911 as against 45,000 in 1897), who live in the Ferghana Territory. The word Kipchak is found as the name of a clan, or perhaps a moiety, among various Siberian and Turkestan Turks, such as the Altaians, the Telengit, the Kaizak of the Middle Orda, and the Usbegs. 101

The Usbegs form the ruling class in Bokhara, Khiva, and Kokand, occupying much the same position as do the Osmanly in Turkey. Some groups of Usbegs are to be found in Northern Afghanistan, and in the west of Eastern Turkestan. The name Usbeg is political, and is probably derived from Usbeg Khan of the Golden Horde (1312-40). The Usbegs are a mixture of three elements, Turkic, Iranian, and Mongol, but the Turkic element and Turanian traditions are predominant, except in the case of the Usbegs of Khiva, where the Iranian type predominates. 105 101

Since the Usbegs are in process of exchanging their nomad life for a sedentary one, their customary law (*'ādat*) is being replaced by the written law (*sheriat*). Father-right is very strong, but the women are freer than among the Tadjiks or the Sarts. Though they now live in clay and wood houses (*sakla*), their old felt tents (*yurta*) are still to be seen, especially in summer.

There is much ethnological evidence that the Usbegs belong to the same ethnic group as that people who are called by the Russians Kaizak-Kirghis, but who call themselves Kaizak. Both names—Kaizak and Usbeg—came into use only in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and even now Usbegs and Kaizak have many

clan, or perhaps moiety, names in common (Jalair, Kangli, Kipchak, Kereit, Konkrat, Naïman, Tabyn, Arghyn, Tama, and Tilaou[1]). If the name Usbeg is derived from *bek*, 'master of oneself', and the name Kaizak from the Turkic *káz*, 'steppe goose', and the Persian *sagh*, 'steppe crow',[2] with the metaphorical meaning, 'wanderers free as steppe birds', it seems possible that the origin of both names involves the same idea. Another derivation of Kaizak from *kázmak*, 'to dig', fails to commend itself, as the meaning of the word has no direct connexion with their mode of life, the Kaizak never appearing as agriculturists.

The Kaizak-Usbegs were probably bands of people who escaped from the strong state organization of the Turkic Empires of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and reverted to a nomadic life and a nomadic culture, under conditions which led to their mixing freely with such nomads as the Western Mongols. In seeking for rich pastures they were obliged to live in a state of constant war with the people who inhabited the steppes before them. Historical evidence supports this hypothesis.[3] Their warlike disposition seems to have given rise to a Tadjik proverb, referring to the Kataghan, a tribe of Usbegs of the Kundar district: 'Where the hoof of the Kataghan's horse arrives, there the dead find no grave-cloth and the living no home'.[4]

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[1] P. Kuznietsoff, *La Lutte des Civilisations et des Langues dans l'Asie centrale*, Paris, 1912, p. 60.

[2] In this part of the world a Turkic-Persian hybrid is not uncommon.

[3] V. V. Velyaminoff-Zernoff, *The Emperors and Princes of the line of Kasim*, 1860.

[4] R. B. Shaw, *A Sketch on the Turki Language as spoken in Eastern Turkistan*, Calcutta, 1880, p. 139.

111 RL4 Turkic Peoples

3: Czaplicka, M. A. The Turks of Central Asia in History and at the Present Day. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918.

Pp. 242; 2 appendices; bibliography.

Yale: Bj59.6c.

[This ethnographic study propounds the thesis that a wide divergence in culture, language, and physical type exists among the Turkic peoples of Central Asia. The Iranian Turks and the Turanian Turks cannot be regarded as either a single racial or cultural entity. In addition to extensive acculturation, the infiltration of other ethnic groups--which can be proved by archaeological and anthropometric evidence--negates any Pan-Turkic theory. The author feels, therefore, that the Turanian movement had no scientific basis, but was instigated by political and economic motives. This book includes a thorough analysis of the clan divisions and customs prevalant among the Turkic peoples. An extensive bibliography appears at the end of the text. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: June Orloff

Evaluation: Ethnologist--4
Processed in 1955

113, 61, 178 Turkic Peoples RL4

/For a discussion of the processes of fusion, fission, and feudalization which have operated in the development of all Turco-Mongol social groupings, see 2: Hudson, RQ2 Kazak, category 116, pp. 98-105. --Analyst/

Turkic Peoples RL4

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For information on the Turkic Peoples of Afghanistan, see AU1 Afghanistan, 7: Jarring, category 116, complete text, with reference to the Index of Tribes and Peoples, pp. 84 - 91.

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113, 604, 601, 428 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For discussion of the avunculate in the Altaic-speaking steppe societies, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 591-600.]

113, Turkic Peoples RL4

[For bibliography on the social organization of the Turco-Mongol peoples, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 612-627.]

113, 621, 233, 182 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For material on the nomadic kin-village among the Altaic-speaking peoples of the Asiatic steppe, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 568-574.]

113, 61, 565, 642 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For discussion of agnatic relationship as an integrative principle in the Altaic-speaking steppe societies, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 549-568.]

113, 177, 233 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For data on herding ratios as indices of acculturation, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, pp. 161-163.]

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113, 15, 181 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For a discussion of personality and culture development among the Turco-Mongol nomads of the steppes of Central Asia, see 6:Tomasic, RF1 Great Russia, pp. 22-31]

113, 19 **RL4 Turkic Peoples RL4**

[For information pertaining to the Turkic languages, see 22: Matthews, Rl Soviet Union, category 116; pp. 63-72]

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL

RELATING TO THE EARLY TURKS AND THE PRESENT TURKS OF CENTRAL ASIA

This bibliography is to the author's knowledge the first attempt to bring together a list of works relating to the origin of the Turks and their life in Central Asia from the earliest times up to the present day, and covering their history, ethnology, and archaeology. A somewhat vague suggestion of a work of this kind was made as far back as 1879 by the great Central Asian scholar Ujfalvy, who, in the second volume of his *Expédition scientifique française en Russie, en Sibérie et dans le Turkestan*, says, 'On pourrait écrire un livre sur la bibliographie de cette contrée, et il est bien naturel que les auteurs russes occupent dans cette bibliographie la place la plus importante' (p. xii). As will be seen from the bibliography, the scientific data has increased since that time both in quality and quantity.

Chinese, Persian, and Turkish sources are given only so far as they have been translated into English or some other European language. Existing bibliographies dealing with special aspects of the subject have been laid under contribution, and the data verified so far as the books are available in this country.

The greatest debt is due to A. N. Samoylovich's *Materials for an Index of the Literature relating to the Yenisei-Orkhon Inscription* (1912[1]; in Russian), from which some two hundred titles were taken and revised, and, to a certain extent, also to Inostrantseff and Smirnoff's *Materials for the Bibliography of the Mussulman Archaeology* (1906; in Russian).

The author is fully aware of the shortcomings of the present

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[1] This bibliography, again, is to some extent based on *Orientalische Bibliographie*, begründet von F. A. Müller, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Dr. L. Scherman, Berlin, 1888–1915.

000 collection, the probable omission of some valuable works on this subject, and the arrangement of the material merely in alphabetical order. At the present stage of research it is often difficult to isolate the Turks from other peoples in Central Asia without injuring the subject. It is, moreover, impossible to define which works are historical, which ethnological, and which archaeological. However, even in this crude form these bibliographical materials may serve as a starting-point for further research.

113 The following abbreviations have been used throughout the bibliography:

Bab. Orient. Rec. = Babylonian and Oriental Record. London.
J. R. G. S. = Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. London.
J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. London.
J. R. A. I. = Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. London.
J. Centr. As. S. = Journal of the Central Asian Society, London.
A. R. = The Asiatic Review (formerly 'The Asiatic Quarterly Review'). London.
E. R. E. = Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Aberdeen.
Bull. Soc. Antiqu. = Bulletins de la Société Antiquarienne de France. Paris.
Rev. Or. = Revue Orientale pour les Études Oural-Altaïques. Paris.
J. A. = Journal Asiatique. Paris.
M. O. = Le Monde Oriental. Paris.
Le Muséon = Le Muséon. Paris.
La Géographie = La Géographie. Paris.
Rev. Numis. = Revue Numismatique. Paris.
Bull. Éc. Franç. = Bulletins de l'École française de l'Extrême Orie Paris.
N. E. = Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d Roi, Ac. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Paris.
E. I. = The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Leyden and London.
O. B. = Orientalische Bibliographie. Berlin.
L. Z. = Literarischer Zodiacus. Leipzig.
Z. D. M. G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig.

W. Z. K. M. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Vienna.

Z. f. E. = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin.

T. P. = T'oung Pao. Leyden.

K. S. = Keleti Szemle. Budapest.

J. Soc. Fin.-Ougr. = Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Helsingfors.

Mém. Soc. Fin.-Ougr. = Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Helsingfors.

L. A. T. = Living Ancient Times. Живая Старина. Petrograd.

Russ. Anthr. J. = Russian Anthropological Journal. Русскій Антропологическій Журналъ. Petrograd.

Mess. I. R. G. S. = Messenger of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Вѣстникъ Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Petrograd.

Ethn. Rev. = Ethnographical Review. Этнографическое Обозрѣніе. Moscow.

Government News (preceded by the name of the Government in question). Губернскія Вѣдомости.

Oren. Gov. News = Orenburg Government News. Оренбургскія Губернскія Вѣдомости. Orenburg.

Tob. Gov. News = Tobolsk Government News. Тобольскія Губернскія Вѣдомости. Tobolsk.

Semip. Terr. News = Semipalatinsk Territory News. Семипалатинскія Областныя Вѣдомости. Semipalatinsk.

Turk. News = Turkestan News. Туркестанскія Вѣдомости. Tashkent.

J. Min. Int. = Journal of the Ministry of the Interior. Журналъ Министерства Внутреннихъ Дѣлъ. Petrograd.

J. Min. Educ. = Journal of the Ministry of Education. Журналъ Министерства Народнаго Просвѣщенія. Petrograd.

J. Min. Prop. State = Journal of the Ministry of the Property of the State. Журналъ Министерства Государственныхъ Имуществъ. Petrograd.

Mem. I. A. S. = Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Science. Записки Императорской Академіи Наукъ. Petrograd.

Bull. I. A. S. = Bulletins of the Imperial Academy of Science. Извѣстія Императорской Академіи Наукъ. Petrograd.

Bull. Soc. F. S. Anthr. E. = Bulletins of the Society of the Friends of Science, Anthropology and Ethnography at the Imp. University of Moscow. Извѣстія Общества Любителей Естествознанія, Антропологіи и Этнографіи при Импер. Московскомъ Университетѣ. Moscow.

Bull. Russ. Committee = Bulletins of the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and Eastern Asia with regard to its history, archaeology, linguistics and ethnography. Извѣстія Русскаго Комитета для изученія Средней и Восточной Азіи, въ историческомъ, археологическомъ, лингвистическомъ и этнографическомъ отношеніяхъ. Petrograd.

Proc. Turk. Circle F. Arch. = Proceedings of the Turkestan Circle of the Friends of Archaeology. Протоколы Туркестанскаго Кружка Любителей Археологіи. Tashkent.

Mem. Ural S. F. S. = Memoirs of the Ural Society of Friends of Science. Записки Уральскаго Общества Любителей Естествознанія. Ekaterinburg.

Bull. S. Arch. H. E. I. Univ. Kaz. = Bulletins of the Society of Archaeology, History and Ethnography at the Imperial University of Kazan. Извѣстія Общества Археологіи, Исторіи и Этнографіи при Императорскомъ Казанскомъ Университетѣ. Kazan.

Rep. I. Russ. Hist. Museum = Reports of the Imperial Russian Historical Museum. Отчеты Императорскаго Русскаго Историческаго Музея. Moscow.

Rep. I. Arch. Commission = Reports of the Imperial Archaeological Commission of the Russian Historical Museum: the Moscow Popular and Rumyantseff Museums. Отчеты Императорской Археологической Коммиссіи Московскаго Публичнаго и Румянцевскаго Музеевъ, Импер. Россійскаго Историческаго Музея. Moscow.

Bull. I. Arch. Commission = Bulletins of the Imperial Archaeological Commission of the Russian Historical Museum: the Moscow Popular and Rumyantseff Museums. Извѣстія Императорской Археологической Коммиссіи Московскаго Публичнаго и Румянцевскаго Музеевъ, Импер. Россійскаго Историческаго Музея. Moscow.

Mem. I. R. Arch. S. = Memoirs of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society. Записки Императорскаго Русскаго Археологическаго Общества. Petrograd.

Bull. I. R. Arch. S. = Bulletins of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society. Извѣстія Императорскаго Русскаго Археологическаго Общества. Petrograd.

Trans. E. Sect. I. R. Arch. S. = Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society. Труды Восточнаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Археологическаго Общества. Petrograd.

Mem. E. Sect. I. R. Arch. S. = Memoirs of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society. Записки Восточнаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Археологическаго Общества. Petrograd.

Mem. Russ. and Slav. Arch. Sect. I. R. Arch. S. = Memoirs of the Russian and Slavonic Archaeology Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society. Записки Отдѣла Русской и Славянской Археологіи Императорскаго Русскаго Археологическаго Общества. Petrograd.

Trans. I. Moscow Arch. S. = Transactions of the Imperial Moscow Archaeological Society. Труды Императорскаго Московскаго Археологическаго Общества. Moscow.

Trans. E. Comm. I. Moscow Arch. S. = Transactions of the Eastern Commission of the Imperial Moscow Archaeological Society. Труды Восточной Коммиссіи Императорскаго Московскаго Археологическаго Общества. Moscow.

Mem. I. R. G. S. = Memoirs of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society: section of Ethnography. Записки Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества: по отдѣленію Этнографіи. Petrograd.

Bull. I. R. G. S. = Bulletins of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society: section of Ethnography. Извѣстія Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества: по отдѣленію Этнографіи. Petrograd.

Mem. Sib. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Memoirs of the Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Записки Сибирскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Petrograd.

Bull. Sib. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Bulletins of the Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Извѣстія Сибирскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Petrograd.

Mem. W. Sib. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Memoirs of the West Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Записки Западно-Сибирскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Omsk.

Bull. W. Sib. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Bulletins of the West Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Извѣстія Западно-Сибирскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Omsk.

Mem. Semip. S. W. Sib. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Memoirs of the Semipalatinsk Sub-section of the West Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Записки Семипалатинскаго Подотдѣла Западно-Сибирскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Semipalatinsk.

Mem. E. Sib. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Memoirs of the East Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Записки Восточно-Сибирскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Irkutsk.

Bull. E. Sib. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Bulletins of the East Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Извѣстія Восточно-Сибирскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Irkutsk.

Trans. E. Sib. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Transactions of the East Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Труды Восточно-Сибирскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Irkutsk.

Mem. Krasn. S. E. Sib. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Memoirs of the Krasnoyarsk Sub-section of the East Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Записки Красноярскаго Подотдѣла Восточно-Сибирскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Irkutsk.

Trans. T.-K. S. Amur Sect. I. R. G. S. = Transactions of the Troitskosavsk-Kiakhta Sub-section of the Amur Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Турды Троицкосавско-Кяхтинскаго Подотдѣла Амурскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Troitskosavsk.

Mem. Cauc. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Memoirs of the Caucasian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Записки Кавказскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Tiflis.

Bull. Turk. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Bulletins of the Turkestan Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Извѣстія Туркестанскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Tashkent.

Mem. Oren. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Memoirs of the Orenburg Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Записки Оренбургскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Orenburg.

The abbreviations of other publications used throughout the bibliography need no further explanation.

To facilitate the use of the bibliography relating to the Turkic tribes at present inhabiting Central Asia, a table is appended giving the main existing groups and the names of modern authorities on each of them. The titles of the works will be found in the bibliography.

Altaians (including the Telengit, the Kyzyl, and the Chulim natives).—Adrianoff, Aristoff, Castrén, Gorokhoff, Kalacheff, Korsh, Kosmin, Kostroff, Lutsyenko, Radloff, Shchukin, Shvetsoff, Shvetsova, Vambéry, Vyerbitski, Yadrintseff, Yariloff.

Beltir.—Adrianoff, Goroshchenko, Kostroff, Katanoff, Yakovleff.

Kachints.—Adrianoff, Castrén, Goroshchenko, Karatanoff, Katanoff, Kostroff, Ostrovskikh, Yakovleff, Stepanoff.

Kaizak.—Alektoroff, Aristoff, Castrén, Czaplicka, Daulbaeff, Geins, Grodekoff, Ibrahimoff, Kazantseff, Kharusin, Krassovski, Kustanaeff, Kittary, Levanewski, Levshin, Medvyedski, Meyer, Mikhailoff, Nazaroff, Nikolski, Potanin, Radloff, Reypolski, Schmidt, Troll, Ujfalvy, Velyaminoff-Zernoff, Wulfson, Yadrintseff, Yevreinoff, Zeeland, Zelenin.

● 113 **Kamashints.**—Castrén, Kostroff, Donner, Radloff, Stepanoff.

Karagass.—Katanoff, Prelovski, Radloff, Shtubendorff, Vasilyeff, Zaleski.

Karakalpak.—Maksimoff, Radloff, Castrén.

Kashgarians.—Ujfalvy.

Khotanians.—Joyce (Stein).

Kirei (Kerians, Kerraits).—Carruthers, Joyce (Stein), Kohn.

Kirghis (Kara-Kirghis, Burut).—Alektoroff, Aristoff, Castrén, Chermak, Czaplicka, Divayeff, Geins, Golubyeff, Grodekoff, Ivanowski, Kharuzin, Kosmin, Krasnoff, Nazaroff, Nikolski, Potanin, Radloff, Shkapski, Troll, Tronoff, Ujfalvy, Vambéry, Valikhanoff, Venyukoff, Wulfson, Yadrintseff, Yastreboff, Zagrajski.

Koibal.—Castrén, Goroshchenko, Kostroff, Radloff, Yakovleff.

Kumandints.—Radloff, Sherr.

Sagai.—Adrianoff, Castrén, Goroshchenko, Radloff, Yakovleff.

Sarts.—Mayeff, Nalivkin, Ostroumoff, Shishoff, Sorokin, Troll, Ujfalvy, Vambéry, Wulfson, Yaworski.

Soyot (Uriankhai).—Adrianoff, Africanoff, Carruthers, Castrén, Fabritsius, Goroshchenko, Ivanowski, Katanoff, Maltseff, Olsen, Ostrovskikh, Shishmaryeff, Silinich, Yadrintseff.

Taranchi.—Geins, Gorbachoff, Khoroshkhin.

Tatars (Siberian Turks).—Adrianoff, Castrén, Czaplicka (and Hall), Golovacheff, Goroshchenko, Katanoff, Kosmin, Kostroff, Kuznietsoff, Maloff, Middendorff, Radloff, Stepanoff, Ujfalvy, Yadrintseff, Yakovleff, Yushloff.

Turkomans.—Arkhipoff, Bode, Galkin, Ilyenko, Ivanowki, Kuropatkin, Lessar, Neboksin, Tarnowski, Ujfalvy, Yaworski.

Usbegs.—Bogdanoff, Grebyenkin, Khoroshikhin, Malyeff, Radloff, Troll, Ujfalvy, Vambéry, Velyaminoff-Zernoff, Zaborovski.

Yakut.—Clark, Jochelson-Brodsky, Jochelson, Maak, Middendorff, Piekarski, Priklonski, Shchukin, Sieroszewski, Troshchanski, Wrangell.

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113 **Abu-Takhir-Hadja.** 'Samaria', description of the antiquities and of Mussulman churches of Samarkand. Translated by V. L. Vyatkin. A reference book of the Samarkand Territory, 1898. Repr. Samarkand, 1899. — *Абу-Тахиръ-Ходжа.* „Самарія“, описаніе древностей и мусульманскихъ святынь Самарканда, переводъ В. Л. Вяткина.

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A 173 273 Marco Polo also describes wines made of dates or of sugar and dates, sugar, rice, grain, and grapes. (36) Again distillation and spirits are not mentioned.

36. 1908, 91, 104, 280f., 476, 500.

A 175 272 [273] Carpini reports of the Tatars: "If they have horse milk, they drink it in enormous quantities, also the milk of sheep, goats, and camels. They do not have wine, beer, and mead unless these beverages happen to be imported from other nations or sent as presents. Because they do not have horse milk in winter, unless they are wealthy, they boil millet with water and make such a thin broth of it that one cannot eat it but must drink it...In summer, however, when they A [262] have enough horse milk, they seldom eat meat unless they just happen to /74/ be presented with some or kill game or a bird on the hunt." A [273] (37) Carpini explicitly says that spirits are not known; however, he

37. Johann de Plano Carpini, 1930, 101.

does not mention kumiss either.

Tu 273 175 Ibn Batuta reports: "The chief beverage of the Turks is wine made from honey." The same is reported by Chinese travelers of the 13th century A D. (38)

38. W. W. Rockhill, 1900, 62, footnote 1.

All informants mention the ordinary kumiss and other alcoholic beverages but not spirits, and they do not know the word Arrack. Therefore, the distillation process must have been unknown there; otherwise they would probably have described it.

4. Arrack and Distillation

Tu Ti [114 176] 273 It is often maintained that the preparation of milk schnapps, distillation, came to the nomads of Inner Asia through the Tibetans. Inasmuch as the Tibetan nomads do not know kūmiss, much less distilled kumiss, and do not make distilled schnapps from grain, they cannot have introduced the process. Others believe that distillation was brought to the nomads through Chinese or European influence. (39)

39. Ebert, Reallexikon, Volume XI, 40.

ooo The Turks of Central Asia

in History and at the Present Day

An Ethnological Inquiry into the Pan-Turanian Problem, and Bibliographical Material relating to the Early Turks and the present Turks of Central Asia

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[Title Page]

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[p. 1]

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[p. 8]

THE TURKS OF CENTRAL ASIA:
IN HISTORY AND AT THE PRESENT DAY[1]

AN ETHNOLOGICAL INQUIRY INTO THE PAN-TURANIAN PROBLEM

The Pan-Turanian Movement.

186 The Pan-Turkic or Pan-Turanian movement, supported by the most aggressive portion of Turkish and German public opinion, is a diplomatic activity, the object of which is to subjugate to the Osmanly Turks directly, and to the Germans indirectly, all those countries in which various Turkic languages are spoken. Although its purpose is probably strategical and economic—the acquisition of the cotton of Turkestan, the gold of the Altai, and Central Asian riches in general[2]—this is hidden beneath the cloak of fostering the supposititious desire of various peoples between Thrace and Mongolia
121 for racial and national unity. Only a close study of the peoples whose tongues belong to the Turkic linguistic family can throw light on the moral side of this activity, and show whether the Pan-Turanian programme involves merely a desire for aggrandizement or whether it covers any other relationship, more

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[1] The present work is an enlargement of a lecture delivered in the School of Oriental Studies in London on October 24, 1917.

[2] See Appendix A.

121 essential than the linguistic one, uniting Central Asia with Constantinople.[1]

A brief review of the Pan-Turanian programme will be necessary before approaching the main object of this essay, i.e. the study of the Eastern or Central Asiatic
103 Turks. The term Central Asia, in accordance with Humboldt's definition, embraces the area lying between the Himalayas and the Altai Mountains, the Caspian
000 Sea and Khingan Range. As far as the Western or Osmanly Turks are concerned, they are dealt with in several recent publications, namely, Sir William Ramsay's *The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor* (Oxford University Press, 1916), Professor H. A. Gibbon's *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1916), Lord Eversley's *The Turkish Empire: its Growth and Decay* (Fisher Unwin, 1917), and *Le Problème Turc*, by Count Léon Ostroróg.[2] Though not dealing primarily with the racial question, these books give a vivid picture of the variety of races living under Osmanly (Ottoman) government, and of the artificiality
186 of the ties that unite them. Sir William Ramsay further tells us how the Osmanly government has tried to develop feelings of unity and patriotism among its subjects on the ground of the common participation in
186 the Islamic religion. But Pan-Islamism—Islam not
177 being exclusively the property of the Turks—would in
565 itself hardly serve to strengthen the position of the Turkic elements of the empire against Arabian and
other alien Mahometans.

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[1] Since these pages were written the British advance in Asiatic Turkey, together with the situation produced by the Russian Revolution, has led the German-Osmanly diplomatists to revise some 'details' of their programme. See Appendix B.

[2] An English version of this work, entitled *The Turkish Enigma*, in Winifred Stephens's translation, has just been announced by Messrs. Chatto & Windus.

other alien Mahometans. To give prominence to the 186
Turkic element was not so simple, considering that five 177
centuries of residence in Europe have influenced the 565
ruling classes of the Osmanly in such a way that they
have completely lost contact with the Turkic masses
subject to their rule; while these, again, by mixture and
contact with the races of Asia Minor and south-eastern
Europe, have lost the Asiatic character that they once
possessed. Yet the upper classes of the Osmanly did
not become thoroughly Europeanized, as the Hungarians
did under similar conditions, and hence their chances
of assimilating the lands and peoples that they conquered
in Europe were almost non-existent even before
the Balkan War. After that war, there was nothing 186
left to the Osmanly but to turn to Asia, upon which
they look as a land of expansion and of compensation
for what they have lost in Europe. Hence, a justification
for this change of policy was necessary, and this was
easily found in the so-called principle of the self-determination
of nationalities. The Osmanly thereupon
proclaimed themselves to be of one nationality with
the people of the far Asiatic lands of Turkestan,
Jungaria, and the Siberian steppes.

It may be argued that there is something in the 000
political atmosphere of our century which makes people
revert, as it were, to past ages. All who have affinities
with both Europe and Asia seem to be ready now to
claim their Asiatic blood, as we see that the Bulgarians,
the Hungarians, and the Siberian Russians are doing.

But in the case of the Osmanly the sincerity of such 517
a movement becomes doubtful, when we consider that 186
the Osmanly *intelligentsia* have so far never felt themselves 565
at one even with their own Osmanly common
people. Thus they have never passed, as have the

517 educated classes of the European countries, through
186 a stage of 'folklorization' and 'nationalization' due to
565 contact with the masses, who through their backwardness preserve more of their national traditions. Even the Revolution of the 'Young Turks' did not bring about the breakdown of the caste distinction, and it was, in fact, like all other events in the political history of the Osmanly, a mere imitation of the Western nations, rather than a spontaneous outbreak of national feeling
186 against imperialistic government. There is no doubt
517 that such a truly national movement did begin when some years before the Balkan War a literary attempt led by Ziya Bey, Ahmed Shinassy Bey, and Namyk Kemal Bey, was made to purify the Osmanly language from its Arabian and Persian admixture. It is noteworthy that two of those leaders, Ziya Bey (later Pasha) and Kemal Bey, when exiled from Turkey by Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz for their political ideas, found refuge in London. But, before their brilliant writings brought about any literary revival or social revolution, the movement was checked by the subsequent political action of the 'Young Turks', or strictly speaking by the Committee of Union and Progress (Ittikhad), after they successfully abolished the influence of the more sound rival group, the Committee of Unity and Freedom (Ittilaf). The Pan-Islamic propaganda—bound up as it is with the Arabic language and culture—when carried on by that party in non-Turkic Islamic countries, ran contrary to the attempts of the literary reformers to free themselves from foreign
[648] culture. Meanwhile, the political and economic dependence on Germany imposed by the ruling classes on the Osmanly country did not favour the further development of linguistic and other internal reforms.

And so it happened that before Turkey had succeeded 000
in emancipating herself from her obligations to Europe, Persia, and Arabia, she fell a victim to ambitions[1] the extent of which nothing but the outcome of the war and the fate of the peace settlement will decide.

When, after the Young Turks' Revolution, various 815
European institutions arose in the Ottoman State, there 186
was set up the Academy of Turkish Science ('Turk Bilji Dernayi'), which utilizes the researches of English, French, German, Russian, and other European scientists to further the political plans of the Osmanly. Thus all attempts at finding what the culture of the Turks was like in their original home and in pre-Mahometan times, and what survivals of that culture and of the old race exist, are being interpreted by the Young Turks in such a way as to support the hypothesis of the racial identity
of the Osmanly with the Eastern Turks. It seems 186
almost cruel that the process of nationalization started 101
among the educated classes of the Osmanly should be checked by a new 'revival', which, through its very artificiality, is disturbing the natural development of the Osmanly. Just as the first movement led to the substitution of the name 'Turk' for that of 'Osmanly', so now, with the rise of political dreams concentrated on Central Asia, the name 'Turk' is being abandoned in its turn for a name with a more Asiatic sound, viz. 'Turanian'. By using this word, the Osmanly intend to emphasize their claim to descent in the direct line

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[1] Tekin Alp, *The Turkish and Pan-Turkish Ideal*, English translation, London, 1916; M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei*, Leipzig, 1910; J. Germanus, *Turk Darnay*, K. S., 1909, X, Budapest; V. A. Gordlewski, 'Note on the "Turk Darnay" in Constantinople' (Russ.), *Eastern Antiquities*, Trans. E. Sect. I. R. Arch. S., IV, 1913; A. Tyrkova, *Old Turkey and the Young Turks* (Russ.), Petrograd, 1916; H. M. A. Sarron, *La Jeune-Turquie et la revolution*, Paris, 1912.

186 from the people who left behind the old archaeological
101 remains in Turan (Central Asia).

773 In many instances this propaganda assumes naïve form. Half-legendary kings and leaders of the Turks in Asia have been set up by the propagandists before the Turkish soldiers as hero-ancestors—to say nothing of such historical personages as Attila and Timur! Then again, a legend found by European investigators among many Asiatic Turks, to the effect that they originated from a she-wolf, has now provided an occasion for the abandonment on Turkish standards of the Mahometan crescent in favour of the pre-Mahometan Turkish wolf. The legend, of which there are several versions current among the Turks and Mongols of Central Asia, relates that a white she-wolf—or perhaps a woman with the name Zena (sometimes Bura), which means 'she-wolf'—found and reared an abandoned man-child, who became the ancestor of the Turks (or in the Mongol version—of the Mongols). This explains the appearance of that animal on the war standards of the early Central Asiatic Turks, particularly the Tu-kiu branch, a design imitated by the
[177] Osmanly during the present war. Though the Osmanly took up this legend as having been originally Asiatic, the latest researches seem to support the theory of de Guignes that it had a European origin, and was imported into Asia by the Huns. Assuming that the Huns were of Turkic stock, de Guignes thinks that when they were defeated in Europe and retired by way of the Volga, the Urals, and the Altai into Turan, they brought with them the Roman legend of Romulus and Remus, and gave it a Turkic setting by associating it with local Turkic traditions, so that

subsequently it was accepted as if it had been of local origin.[1] 773

Such is the story of one of the 'historic heritages' claimed by the Osmanly. But, as a matter of fact, the more current version of the origin of the Turks is that which derives their tribes from Ogus-Khan, son of Kara-Khan, grandson of Dik-Bakui, great-grandson of Abuldji-Khan, who was a direct descendant of Noah. Such at least is the version given in one of the first attempts at recording the Turkic myths relating to their origin.[2]

If from the realm of mythology we turn to the physical 144
or racial side, we are in perplexity as to why the 177
drafters of the Pan-Turanian propaganda entirely disregard 197
the fact that the Osmanly have now more Albanian, Slavonic, Thracian, and Circassian blood in their veins than they have Turkic; that their culture is more Persian, Arabian, and European than Central Asiatic; and that even in language there are divergences no less wide than are to be found among the languages of the Germanic family. All differences are disregarded, and linguistic similarity is magnified into linguistic identity.

Had the Turks and their allies, the Central Powers, 186
been successful in their military plans, their intentions as regards Central Asia were as follows: '*Thirty to forty millions of Turks will become independent, and together with the ten millions of Ottoman Turks, will form a nation of fifty millions, which may perhaps be compared with that of Germany in that it will have the strength and*

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[1] J. de Guignes, *Histoire générale des Huns*, vol. I, pt. ii, Book I, pp. 371–3.

[2] Recorded by Rashid al-Din, quoted by Radloff, *Concerning the Uigur*, p. 1.

186 *energy to rise even higher.*'[1] It should be noted that the total number of the Turks is here exaggerated by some twenty million, and that the term 'nation' is used somewhat vaguely.

It is pretty certain that the several Turkic nations which the author has had the opportunity of meeting in Asia would be surprised if any one proposed to unite them in one local group on the ground of some remote tradition. Thus they would not understand any reason for a voluntary union, even with the Turks of European Russia, not to speak of still less known people. One cannot disregard the local national awakening of some of these groups, as for instance that of the progressive 'Young Sarts', or retrogressive Usbegs of Bokhara, or even the Kaizak solidarity which may develop into national feeling, but there is now no moral link which would unite these groups in opposition to a Democratic Russia. Apart from conquest, the only thing that would effectively bring them together would be identity of religion, language, and education, and some economic organization under which they would retain their lands, and be encouraged to a more progressive mode of life—not too rapidly introduced. Identity of religion does not exist at present, for within the Mahometan world—to say nothing of others—there are as many distinctions as among the Christians; nor do they know any common language except the Russian.

648 Since the Chinese and Russian Revolutions the confiscation of lands belonging to these Turkic natives is less likely to occur on the part of Russia[2]* and China.

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[1] Tekin Alp, *op. cit.*, Foreword, p. 5

000 [2] On June 25, 1916 (old style), there appeared a Ukaz from the

*[For footnote, see category 116, p.17--- Analyst]

On the other hand, the Russian collapse has left the 648
way open to the activity of the Pan-Turanian propagandists, who seem to have been successfully checked by the Revolution at its *first* stage—warmly greeted as
it was in Siberia and Central Asia. The Second 669
Revolution, with its Marxian spirit foreign to Asiatic people, had in this region adherents almost entirely composed of Russian colonists. It would seem that

On June 25, 1916, (old style), there appeared a Ukaz from the 636
Tsar calling all the male natives of the Caucasus, Turkestan, 425
the Caspian Steppe country, Siberia, and the Astrakhan and 701
Stavropol steppes, for service connected with the war, a proceeding contrary to the fundamental law relating to the native population, under which these natives were definitely exempt from any form of military service. This order came at a time when the natives were all occupied with the cotton-fields of Turkestan, the wheat-fields of Siberia, or with reindeer-breeding in the mountains. The President of the Mussulman Party of the Duma, K. B. Tevkeleff, made a vigorous protest to the then Prime Minister, M. Stürmer, against the coercive measures
employed in calling up the natives. In spite of this, the ruthless [669]
behaviour and corrupt methods of the local administration of some parts of Turkestan brought about a rising of the population, especially of the Kara-Kirghis and the Sart. The most terrible conflicts occurred at Djizak in the Samarkand district, and in other parts of Semirechie, as a result of which the local administration confiscated all the land and property of the natives, took away forcibly all men of military age, and sent what remained of the population (about 20,000), chiefly women, to die of starvation in the bare mountain region. General Kuropatkin, then Governor-General of the country, decided that the shores of Lake Issyk-kul, the valley of the River Tekes and of the River Keben, and the eastern part of the River Chuya, were to be cleared of the Kara-Kirghis and colonized only by Russians. See the official publications, *Turkestan News*, No. 185, 1916, and *Semirechie District News*, Nos. 201–15, 1916. The question was brought before the Duma, and the Investigation Committee, guided by M. Kerensky, was sent to Semirechie and Samarkand. But it was only after the First Revolution, and by order of the Provisional Government, that the natives were allowed to return to their country.

669 It would seem that
186 the prolongation of the Russian chaos would encourage the congregation of the Turkic elements, if the dis-association from the other people of the once Russian Empire was their aim. But so far neither the 'All-Russian Mahometan Congress' nor 'Mahometan Regional Councils' separate themselves from the general problems of Russia, even though they express interest in the Mahometans abroad, and the majority favour some kind of federal form of government. The Turkic population of Russia is not more uniform in political opinion than the Slavonic or Finnic branches; and so, the reactionary portion of them guided by Mullahs, and on the whole less affected by the Russian and more by the Central Asian culture, form an opposition to the Mahometan federalists.

The term Turanian.

103 The term 'Turan', from which Turanian is derived, is so Asiatic that we do not find it in the Greek authors, though the fact that it occurs in the *Avesta* in the form Tura points to its ancient origin.

779 It is said in the *Avesta* that Thraetona had three sons, Airya (Arya), who received as his portion Iran; Sairima, who received the western lands; and Tura, to whom fell the oriental lands. Again, Tuirya (Turya) is used in the *Avesta* as an epithet applied to the countries now called Turanian.[1] The people of Tuirya are spoken of as enemies of the people of Airya. Another
538 reference is found in the epic of the Persian poet Firdusi, the Shâh Naméh dating from the tenth century

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[1] E. Blochet, 'Le Nom de Turc dans l'Avesta', *J. R. A.-S.*, 1915, pp. 305-9.

A. D.; a prominent figure in this work, the Turkic Khan 538 Afrâsiyâb, is said to have reigned over Tura in the sixth century B.C., and to have been the great foe of Iran.[1] In this poem Turan is placed in the north of Iran.

The name Turan is very often given to the region 103 otherwise called Tartary. Neither of these names is known to the Asiatic Turks, but curiously enough Turan occurs as a clan-name among the Turkic tribe of Sagai, the tribe least mixed with Finnic and Samoyedic people of all the so-called 'Tatars' of Siberia. The Turkic state of Siberia, conquered by the Khan Kuchum in the sixteenth century, is often called also the Turan state, but this name is derived from the name of the River Turu, on the banks of which the town Chingi-Tura (now Tiumien) was erected by the Beg Chingi in the fourteenth century.[2]

Like the term Aryan, 'Turanian' is used chiefly as 101 a linguistic term, equivalent to 'Ural-Altaic' linguistic group.[3] The use of this linguistic term for the designation of a racial group is no more satisfactory than the use of the linguistic term 'Aryan' in the same sense. But still more unscientific is it to apply this adjective to things Turkish, for the Tungusic and the Mongolic languages have just as much right to be called Turanian as the Turkic. However, 'Turanian', not unlike

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[1] Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, p. 115.

[2] P. M. Golovacheff, *Siberia*, Moscow, 1914, p. 35.

[3] Although the term Turanian is now generally applied to the Ural-Altaic languages (Turkic, Tungusic, Mongolic, Samoyedic, and Finnic), it will be remembered that some linguists, for instance Max Müller, give to the Ural-Altaic group the name of North Turanian as against the South Turanian group (Tamulic, Gangetic, Lohitic, Taic, and Malayic) (Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, London, 1861, p. 322). 197

101 another vague term, 'Tatar', has become so deeply rooted in European books on Asia, that there seems to be no hope of either of them ever being abandoned for the names by which the tribes of Central Asia call themselves.[1]

Division of the Turkic-speaking peoples.

The ethnological evidence must now be examined, and to make what follows intelligible, it is necessary to preface some explanation of the broad division into Western and Eastern Turks which is here proposed.

By the term *Western Turks* is understood all the Turks—or people speaking Turkic languages, most of them subject to the Ottoman Empire—as far east as [161] Persia and Afghanistan. Their number is 8–9 millions.

The term *Eastern Turks* is used to embrace the people of Turkestan and Central Asia as far as Mongolia and China. Their number is about 10 millions.

There are also Turks in European Russia, viz. in the Crimea, in the Caucasus, and along the Volga, especially [161] round Kazan and Astrakhan. These number 3½–4 millions, including some of the Turkicized Finnic tribes of the Volga. Linguistically and politically they form one group with the Eastern Turks, with the exception of the Azerbeijan, who speak a Western Turkic [144] language. But in physical type and culture they are all now mixed with Eastern Europeans, to a slightly less degree than the Osmanly are with the South-Eastern Europeans. The Pan-Turanian programme

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[1] It must be noted that, according to M. Joseph Halévy, the Turanians of Avesta and of Shâh Naméh were the Semites of Syria, because Syria was called Althura . . . Tura (C. E. Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens*, p. 49).

includes these people, and there is some linguistic excuse 101
for this in the case of the Azerbeijan. Before the present [665]
war representatives of many Russian Mahometans could be found at the Pan-Islamic Conferences in Turkey, and within Russia they formed a 'Russian Mussulman Party' in the Duma, but so far they have never been united on ground of racial or national community. Although these East European Turks will play an important rôle in the politics of the near future, and have already played their part in the Caucasus, they will not be dealt with here, since they are not typically representative of the Eastern Turks. Besides, the problems relating to them are beyond the boundary of Asia.

The classification here proposed differs from that given by Vambéry[1] in 1885, in that his first four groups, viz. Siberian Turks, Central Asiatic Turks, Volga Turks, and Pontus Turks, are grouped together under the name Eastern Turks, leaving his fifth group, Western Turks, unaltered.

The Eastern Turks.

Before tracing the Eastern Turks in history, some 636
account must be given of them as they are at the present day. Politically, almost all of them are dependent on Russia; only some 1½–2 millions are subject to China. Culturally and ethnically they fall into two groups, differing widely from each other.

The first group consists of the Turks of Turkestan 101
and some of the Turks of the Caspian Steppe country. 177
Since their appearance in this region they have been constantly under Iranian influence, and hence have

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[1] A. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 85–6.

101 physically and culturally become Iranized. Considering
177 also that they settled in the country which already in the time of the *Avesta* bore the name Iran (as opposed to Turan), there is ample justification for calling them the *Iranian Turks.*

The other group consists of the Turks—many of them called Tatars—of the Steppe country, Southern Siberia, Jungaria, and Northern Mongolia, including the Altai and Sayan Mountains. Thanks to the geographical structure of the country, these Turks have been more shut off from foreign influence than the first group, though they have always been to a certain extent under obligations to the culture of China, and lately to that of Russia also. These may be called the *Turanian Turks.*

162 The Eastern Turks in Asiatic Russia number altogether some eight millions,[1] of which the Iranian Turks account for about six millions. The Iranian Turks form 92 per cent. of the population of Turkestan.
[177] Out of the 60 per cent. of Turkic population in the Caspian Steppe country, about one-third may be regarded as Iranized.

The Turanian Turks form an unimportant percentage among the Russian, Mongols, and Chinese in the midst of whom they live; their number in south-western

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[1] The statistics here given concerning the Turks of the Russian State are based on the census of 1897 and an additional local census of 1911. See *Asiatic Russia*, edited by the Immigration Committee, St. Petersburg, 1914, vol. I. It should be noted, however, that the later census shows an increase over the earlier one greater than can be accounted for by a natural increase in the birth-rate. This is probably due to the fact that the census of 1911 was carried out by more careful observers. It is more reliable as far as linguistic grouping goes, but its estimates of the number of people professing Russian Orthodoxy are less correct.

Siberia scarcely reaches half a million, and yet this is the region which has been a centre of gravity for the old Turkic culture. So if for political interest we must look to the Iranian Turks, for ethnological problems we turn chiefly to these other Turks, who are the truest Turanians. 162

Language.

Preparatory to dealing with the separate nations of which these two groups are composed, it will be necessary to pass in review the linguistic and religious position of all the Eastern Turks in Asia, for it seems that in many cases these two factors are the only guides by which we can arrive at the definition of a Turk. 000

According to Professor Beresin and the Turkic-Tatar scholar Mirza Kasem Beg,[1] the Turkic or Turko-Tatar languages may be divided as follows: 197

1. Jagatai (Chagatai),
2. Tatar,
3. Turkish.

The Jagatai and Tatar languages, with their many dialects, have closer resemblances between themselves than either of them have with the Turkish. The Turkish language is used by the Western Turks, and consists of the following dialects:

(*a*) Derbent,
(*b*) Aberdjan (Azerbeijan),
(*c*) Crimean,
(*d*) Anatolian,
(*e*) Rumelian (Constantinople). } [Osmanly.]

Of the other two, Jagatai appears to be the older, and

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[1] Mirza A. Kasem Beg, transl. Dr. J. T. Zenker, *Allgemeine Grammatik der Türkisch-Tatarischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1848, pp. xi–xiii.

197 it includes the most classical Turkic dialect, namely Uigur. The dialects of Jagatai are:

(*a*) Uigur,
(*b*) Koman,
(*c*) Jagatai (Chagatai),
(*d*) Usbeg,
(*e*) Turkoman,[1]
(*f*) Kazan.

The dialects of Tatar are:

(*a*) Kirghis,
(*b*) Bashkir,
(*c*) Nogai,
(*d*) Kuman,
(*e*) Karachai,
(*f*) Kara-Kalpak,
(*g*) Meshcherak,
(*h*) Siberian.

212 The first mention in Chinese documents of the fact that the Uigur, the Tu-kiu, and the Kirghis use the same character, occurs in a passage relating to the fourth century A.D. The earliest specimens known to us of the Turkic-Uigur language and characters are the inscriptions on the burial mounds in the Yenisei valley, dating from about the seventh century A.D. The late Professor Donner,[2] who has left us a study of the origin of this alphabet, suggests that some early phases of old Turkic writing are still missing, and may possibly be found west or south of the Minusinsk inscriptions, for the inscriptions found to the east of Minusinsk along the River Orkhon in Northern Mongolia are later than those of the Yenisei. The reason for such a supposition rests on the fact that the script adopted by the old Uigur Turks was of Aramaean or Proto-Pehlevi origin, of the type employed during the dynasty of Arsasides in Parthia (third century B.C. to third century A.D.). It is not clear, pending further

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[1] According to some scholars Turkoman belongs to the Western Turkic linguistic branch, and thus stands near to Azerbeijan and Osmanly. See A. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 86.

[2] O. Donner, 'Sur l'origine de l'alphabet turc du Nord de l'Asie', *J. Soc. Fin.-Ougr.*, 1896, XIV, pp. 1–7, 21–71.

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discoveries, who used the Aramaean characters during the three or four centuries which divide the time of Arsasides (whose power was destroyed by Ardashir, founder of the Sassanian Empire in 220 A.D.) from that of the Yenisei inscriptions. The assumption is that in some remote parts of the Sassanian Empire the Aramaean characters still continued to exist for some time, and that the earliest Turkic writings are still undiscovered. In any case, Professor Donner was disposed to take the Aramaean rather than the Indo-Bactrian or Kharosthi as the prototype of the Yenisei writing.[1] The [177] popular opinion current until recently, however, was that the Uigur obtained their written character from the Nestorian monks, who exercised considerable influence in Turanian lands from the fifth century A.D. onwards, and who themselves used a Syriac language. Though the influence of the Nestorian missionaries was doubtless very profound, and though their language was probably known to some of the Turks, especially to the Uigur and the Kirei, the Yenisei inscriptions seem to have been modelled on a Semitic writing more primitive than the Syriac of the fifth century A.D., or even than the character in use during the latter part of the Arsasides dynasty, i.e. the third century A.D.[2]

Here must be mentioned a suggestion coming from

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[1] Professor F. W. K. Müller, of Berlin, advances a theory that the Uigur character, especially in its most archaic form, is an adaptation of the Soghdian ('Uigurica', *Abh. Akad.*, Berlin, 1908-10). M. Gauthiot, accepting this, says that the distinctive character of the Uigur inscriptions is due to the adaptation to the old Turkic language of the phonetic system of a quite different type of language, viz. North Iranian and Soghdian (R. Gauthiot, 'De l'Alphabet Sogdien', *J. A.*, Jan.-Feb., 1911, p. 90).

[2] O. Donner, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

212 the Russian and Sibiriak ethnographers of Central Asia.[1] They would derive the old Turkic character from the clan-crests, called *tamgas.* There is no doubt that some letters of the Yenisei and Orkhon inscriptions bear a close resemblance to various *tamgas*, but the influence may equally well be regarded as reciprocal, until it is proved that the Turkic *tamgas* are more ancient than the Aramaean character.

But, on the other hand, it is quite obvious that the *pisanitsy*, or pictographic writings found in various parts of Turan, are to be connected with the *tamgas*, and that they represent the direct influence of environment rather than that of an imported culture.

538 Until the discovery of the Yenisei inscriptions the oldest Turkic-Uigur document was the famous *Kudatku Bilik*, translated as 'The Art of Reigning' (L. Gahun [2]) or as 'The Book of Joy-giving Knowledge' (A. Vambéry [3]). It is an ancient poem, imbued with the spirit of Islam, written in 1069 (or perhaps in 1076), that is to say during the dynasty of the Ilekids, and ascribed to Yūsuf Khass Hajib. It was found in Semirechie.
[212] The Turkic-Uigur writing was in use sporadically among the Volga and Bokhara Turks until the fifteenth century.

[197] As monuments in Jagatai proper, a dialect akin to Uigur, may be cited the Memoirs of Baber the Moghul in the sixteenth century, and the History of Abul Ghazi in the seventeenth. The Memoirs of Baber have been

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[1] N. A. Aristoff, *Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition of the Kirghis-Kaizah*, &c., pp. 410 ff.; N. Mallitski, *On the connexion between the Turkic 'tamga' and the Orkhon characters*, 1897-8, pp. 43-7.

[2] L. Cahun, *L'Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, p. 45.

[3] A. Vambéry, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

frequently translated into many European languages.[1] 538
The poet who perhaps most enriched the Jagatai literature was Mir Ali Shir Navaĭ, who lived during the Timurid dynasty.

It is interesting to note that among the latest documents in the older form of the Uigur written character are some letters sent by the Mongol Khans of Persia in the thirteenth century to the Pope of Rome, Philip le Bel King of France, and Edward I King of England, the object of which was to arrange an offensive alliance against the Saracens. There were as many as six Embassies exchanged. A number of the letters were written in Uigur with Latin translations, and the original Uigur manuscripts of some of these were found by M. Abel Rémusat in Paris.[2] It is possible that the

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[1] The translations in English are as follows:

'Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed Baber, Emperor of Hindustan, written by himself, in the Jaghatai Turkic, and translated partly by the late John Leyden, partly by William Erskine', London, 1826.

'The Memoirs of Bābur; a new translation of the Bābur-nāma, incorporating Leyden and Erskine's of 1826 A.D.', by Annette S. Beveridge, London, 1912.

'Memoirs of Baber, Emperor of India, First of the Great Moghuls, being an abridgement with an introduction, supplementary notes, and some account of his successors', by Lieut.-Col. F. G. Talbot, London, 1909.

[2] Abel Rémusat, 'Mémoires sur les relations politiques des princes chrétiens et particulièrement des rois de France avec les empereurs mongols', *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, Pt. I, vol. vi, pp. 396–469; Pt. II, vol. vii, pp. 335–431. See also T. Hudson Turner, 'Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I and of his Relations with the Moghul Sovereign of Persia', *Arch. Jour.*, VIII, London, 1851, pp. 47–50; I. J. Schmidt, *Philologisch-kritische Zugabe zu den von H. Abel Rémusat bekannt gemachten in den königlich-französischen Archiven befindlichen zwei mongolischen Original-Briefen der Könige von Persien Argun und Oeldshäitu an Philipp den Schönen*, St. Petersburg, 1824.

2/2 175 originals of those sent to England may yet be found in some British collection. Some of the envoys were Uigur priests of Nestorian religion.[1]

Religion.

779 Among the Iranian Turks in Turkestan the almost universal religion is Mahometanism. Its adherents form 99 per cent. of the Turks in Ferghana (Kokand), [795] 93 per cent. in Samarkand, 96 per cent. in Syr Daria, and 88 per cent. in Transcaspia (1897). They are mostly Sunnites, and of the Hanifite rite. It is recognized in the Mahometan world that nowhere else is there such strict adherence to the Koran and the Sunna as in this region, nowhere else are there so many religious orders and so many saints. This contemporary religious fanaticism, however, does not play the cultural rôle which it did when Mahometanism was introduced into this region in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as a rival to the earlier influences of Buddhism, Christianity, and the well-developed local animistic religion. At that time, under the influence of Iranian culture, Mahometanism meant also the development of science and art, literature and architecture. The present theologians of Turkestan have banished from their religion everything which is not in accordance with strict devotion and

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[1] The Uigur manuscripts known to exist in European libraries are:

Kudatku Bilik (copy made in Herat in 1439) (Wiener Hofbibliothek).

Légende de Oghus Chan (Library of Charles Schefer of Paris).

Teskere-i-ewlija (Bibliothèque Nationale).

Miradj nameh (Berliner Bibliothek).

Yarlyk of Temir Kutlug (Wiener Hofbibliothek).

Yarlyk of Toktamysh (Moscow Library).

Application of the envoy of Chami, Babeke, to the Chinese Emperor, with Chinese translation (Asiatic Museum, Petrograd).

asceticism.[1] In a way, they play the rôle of Calvinists 779 in the Mahometan world; on the other hand, the influence of Buddhism still remains in the towns, while in the mountains and steppes there still lives a strong animistic cult, sometimes intermixed with Mahometanism.

Mahometanism, though introduced among the upper [797] classes in the tenth century, did not spread among the masses of Turkestan until the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and it is now known that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Christianity, especially Nestorian Christianity, was a great rival of Mahometanism in the western part of Turkestan.

The people of the eastern part of Turkestan, especially the Kirghis and various descendants of the Uigur, were never great adherents of Mahometanism. In general, it is the Sarts, the Usbegs, and the Tadjik who are the most devoted Mussulmans. Still, if we compare the [162] number of Mahometans in Russian Central Asia in 1911 (8,223,982) with their number in 1897 (6,996,654), it appears that Mahometanism is still spreading in Turkestan, though its increase in Siberia is negligible (128,403 in 1911, against 126,587 in 1897). The nomads of the north-east—i.e. [177] of Semirechie, Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, and Uralsk—have been but slightly affected by Mahometanism, and it is curious to know that some of the most Turkic sections of all the Eastern Turks, the Kaizak and the Kirghis, accepted it only after the Russian conquest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, assisted by the Russian officials! They still follow their customary law, *zang* (*'ādat* in Arabian), and if they give it up it is to accept, not the Mahometan written law, ***sheriat***,

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[1] A. Vambéry, 'Muhammadanism in Asiatic Turkey', *E. R. E.*, 1915, pp. 885-8.

779 but the Russian law. The Turanian Turks are affected by Mahometanism about as much as they are by Russian Orthodoxy. It would be misleading to give the official estimate,[1] but about two-thirds of them still adhere to the form of animistic religion known as Shamanism. As far as the Turanian Turks are concerned, therefore, Mahometanism fails as a guide for identifying the Turk.

776 The religion of the Turks who were responsible for the inscriptions found in the Yenisei and Orkhon valleys, seems to have been the same Shamanism which is still to be found in a comparatively vital state among many Turanians, especially the Altai 'Tatars' and the Yakut. If we take Shamanism as a form of animistic religion which originated in Asia, and which differs from the animistic religions of other parts of the world in its conception of the gods and in the nature of its propitiatory ceremonies, then we shall not find in any other part of Central and Northern Asia a more typical and more highly developed form of it than among these people. At the same time it must be remembered that Shamanistic conceptions underlie many of the high religious systems of the Asiatic continent.

772 A strongly marked dualism is present, the good and the evil deities being comparable in the various tribes, though known under different names. Taking the Altai 'Tatars' as typical Shamanists, their chief benevolent god at the present time, as in the seventh century, and possibly earlier,[2] is *Ulgen*. The chief malevolent god is *Erlik*. The sphere of activity of the former, and all

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[1] See note to p. 22.

[2] I. P. Melioranski, 'On the Orkhon and Yenisei Memorial Inscriptions', *J. Min. Educ.*, June, 1898, St. Petersburg.

the spirits dependent on him, is the region above the earth, and of the latter the region below the earth. Their realms meet *on* the earth. Erlik is sometimes represented as a bear, e.g. among the Altaians.[1] Generally speaking there is no animal worship, but some animals are venerated. The greatest veneration is shown to the bear, occasionally to the wolf, and of birds, to the eagle, the hawk, and the goose. These creatures, as well as some fish, play an important part in the Shamanistic ceremonies, for when the Shaman's spirit-assistants appear at his call, they are supposed to assume the forms of animals.[2] It is, however, not in this veneration, but rather in the use of the clan-crests or *tamgas*, that any approach to totemism among these people must be sought. 772

The sky, sometimes called *Tengri*, is venerated as 791 being the home of the good spirits, and they themselves 776 are sometimes called *Tengri* also. To ward off the destructive power of the malevolent god, and to ensure the protection of his benevolent rival, a caste of priests, called Shamans (the name varying according to the tribe), performs religious ceremonies in which the sacred drum (*tiungur*) plays an important rôle. In some tribes, e.g. the Yakut, there is a white Shaman who propitiates the good power, and a black Shaman who has to deal with the dark power. All these tribes believe in various lesser gods, among them a female deity who presides over birth. She is called *Umai* by the Altaians, *Ayisit* by the Yakut.[3]

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[1] N. N. Kosmin, *Chern*, p. 102.

[2] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 277-82.

[3] M. A. Czaplicka, *op. cit.*, p. 141, and Chaps. VII and VIII. See also 'The Influence of Environment upon the Religious Ideas and

To show the persistence of the Shamanistic ceremonial, it is interesting to find that the rites connected with the cult of the sky, as practised at the present day, are strikingly similar to those of the eighth century.[1] The ceremony of sacrificing to the sky is called among the Turks of the Minusinsk District *Tigir Tayi*. It is held every third year, usually towards the end of June. Among most of these Turks, for instance the Beltir and Kachints, it has the character of a strictly clan ceremonial. Women are not allowed to take part in it, nor even to help with the preparations. The spot chosen is usually the top of the highest mountain in the neighbourhood on which birches are growing. Some of these birches are sacred, and near them two fires are lighted, one called *ulug ot*, 'the senior fire', and the other *kichig ot*, 'the junior fire'. No one dares to approach the 'junior fire' from the east, and even from other directions only the leaders of the ceremony are allowed access. A ram or a he-goat is then sacrificed, care being taken that no blood should be shed, and no cry heard from the sacrificial animal. Similar precautions are taken in the sacrifice of the horse to Ulgen among the Altaians. Then the fore-quarters of the beast are boiled on the 'senior fire', while the hind-quarters, together with the flesh of various non-sacrificial animals, are boiled on the 'junior fire'. Meanwhile each head of a family ties his *üldürbä*, that is, a long thread of flax with eagle feathers attached to it, to the sacred birches. The ends of these threads are kept in the hand, and the master of the ceremonies begins the song to the sky, while the

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Practices of the Aborigines of Northern Asia', *Folk-Lore*, March 31, 1914.

[1] I. P. Melioranski, *op. cit.*, pp. 264–5.

others form a chorus. The feathered thread is the road 796
by which the song rises to the sky. The meat which has been prepared on the 'senior fire' is taken out and carried round in a circle, in the direction of the sun. After that the meat, with all the articles used in its preparation, is burnt on the 'senior fire', and if the smoke goes straight to the sky it is a good omen for the clan. Then only is the meat which was prepared on the 'junior fire' ceremonially eaten, after which all the bones and remains of the feast have to be burnt on the 'senior fire'.[1]

Ethnography.

The Iranian Turks.

The question now arises, What Turkic nations go to 000
form the group of Iranian Turks?

THE TURKOMANS. Their number in Persia, Khiva, 162
and Bokhara is about 600,000. Of these 290,000 (in 1911, as against 248,000 in 1897) are in Transcaspian territory of Turkestan. Among the Turkomans subject to Russia must also be reckoned the Caucasian Turkomans, some 11,000.[2]

The Turkomans of Turkestan were subjugated by the 177
Russians in 1881 after a stubborn resistance. The Russians put a stop to their slave trade, and from that time they began to be more settled and to take up
agriculture. But even now a large proportion are still 105
nomadic horse-breeders, adhering to the customary law

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[1] S. D. Maynagasheff, 'Sacrifice to the Sky among the Beltir', *Literary Collection of the Anthropological Museum of the Acad. of Science*, Petrograd, 1915, vol. III, pp. 93–102.

[2] The Turkomans of the Ottoman Empire, commonly called Turkmen or Avshahr, are not dealt with here.

105 (*ʿādat*). In religion they are now all Mahometans, in language they belong to the Jagatai Turks. Clan division is still fairly strict among them, and migrations are usually carried out in clans. Their custom of endogamy may be regarded as having as its object the preservation of the purity of their race from foreign admixture. Since the women are inferior in numbers to the men, the *kalym* or bride-price is very high, and in some places the unmarried men form 27 per cent. of the population. Their clans are nine in number, [618] two of them, however, being almost extinct. The chief clans are:

Chaudor, between Khiva and the Caspian;
Yomut, on the south shore of the Caspian, and in south-west Khiva;
Goklan, on Persian soil;
Akhal and *Merv Tekkes*, in the Akhal and Merv oases;
Sarik, on the middle Murgab;
Salor, round Merv and in northern Persia;
Ersari, on the middle Amu Daria, and near Khoya Salih.

[144] Though linguistically and politically classified as Turks, in all these people the Iranian type predominates, in culture as well as in physique.

[162] THE SARTS (1,847,000 in 1911, as against 1,458,000 in 1897) live in the Ferghana and Syr Daria territories, and are also to be found sporadically in other parts of Turkestan.

[144] They are a mixture of the original Iranian inhabitants, the Tadjiks, with their Turanian conquerors, the Usbegs. In physical type they approach nearer to the Iranians. They live in villages, called *kishlak*, and their houses, called *sakla*, are made of a compound of wood and clay.

3: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RL4 Turkic Peoples RL4

Though engaged chiefly in commerce, they are also successful agriculturists. They know the use of *aryk* or irrigation canals, and are reputed to be the best cultivators of cotton and fruit plantations. On the whole there is only one people who surpass them as agriculturists, namely the Tadjiks,[1] who are supposed to be pure Iranians. 105

The Sarts are Mahometans, Sunnites, many of them followers of the Sufi order. They adhere to the Mahometan written law (*sheriat*). They keep their women more strictly in seclusion than is the case among any other Turkic tribe. This is probably connected with the high degree of organization shown in their religious culture, which exceeds that of the other tribes. They have a great reverence for the Mussulman educational institutions usually to be found in connexion with the Sufi religious orders, and supported by public donations. There are three of these orders in Central Asia, the most ancient of them being in Ferghana. The educational institutions are divided into higher (*Medresse*) and lower (*Mektab*). Besides instruction in religious and legal subjects, the students are given some general knowledge based on mediaeval conceptions; thus Sart geography represents the world as being flat, and surrounded by mountains. In the lower [795] 871

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[1] The Tadjiks are the remnants of the old Aryan population of Central Asia, living chiefly in the Samarkand and Ferghana districts. In 1911 they numbered about 400,000, i.e. 67 per cent. of the total population. The Tadjiks living in the valleys and engaged in agriculture are now scarcely distinguishable in language and physique from their neighbours the Sarts, but the Mountain Tadjiks, or Galcha, are still using their Iranian language, and differ from the dark Turanians around them by reason of their light-coloured hair and skin. 144 162

871 classes some Arabic is taught; in the higher Persian is the language used, but neither of these languages is really mastered.[1] The Russian schools have had less success among the Sarts than among the Kaizak or the Kirghis.

101 THE TARANCHI OF ILI-TATARS (83,000 in 1911 as against 70,000 in 1897) live in Semirechie and in the Transcaspian Territory, having migrated to Russian Turkestan from Eastern Turkestan at the same time as the Dungans, that is to say, when Kulja passed under Chinese rule.

105 In physical type, culture, language, and religion the Taranchi stand very near to the Sarts; the only difference seems to be in regard to the treatment of their women, who have much greater freedom than among the Sarts, and do not cover their faces. The Taranchi are agriculturists, cultivating especially vegetable gardens, but some of them incline towards commerce.

The Turkomans, Sarts, and Taranchi may be grouped together as the least Turkic of all the Iranian Turks, being now strongly under Persian, as they were in the past under Arabian, influence. And of course it must be remembered that all of them form as it were a stratum overlying the original 'Aryan' population, whose culture was of an Irano-Greek type. But of the three the Taranchi have the closest connexion with the Turanian Turks, being probably the descendants of the old Uigur in Eastern Turkestan.

101 The next to be considered are the Usbegs, and their kindred tribes the Kipchak, the Kaizak (Kaizak-Kirghis), and the Kara-Kalpak.

THE USBEGS (592,150 in 1911 as against 534,825 in

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[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, p. 170.

1897) live in the Samarkand, in some parts of Syr Daria and Ferghana Territories, and in the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara. With them can be classed the KIPCHAK (60,000 in 1911 as against 45,000 in 1897), who live in the Ferghana Territory. The word Kipchak is found as the name of a clan, or perhaps a moiety, among various Siberian and Turkestan Turks, such as the Altaians, the Telengit, the Kaizak of the Middle Orda, and the Usbegs. 101

The Usbegs form the ruling class in Bokhara, Khiva, and Kokand, occupying much the same position as do the Osmanly in Turkey. Some groups of Usbegs are to be found in Northern Afghanistan, and in the west of Eastern Turkestan. The name Usbeg is political, and is probably derived from Usbeg Khan of the Golden Horde (1312-40). The Usbegs are a mixture of three elements, Turkic, Iranian, and Mongol, but the Turkic element and Turanian traditions are predominant, except in the case of the Usbegs of Khiva, where the Iranian type predominates. 105 101

Since the Usbegs are in process of exchanging their nomad life for a sedentary one, their customary law (*'ādat*) is being replaced by the written law (*sheriat*). Father-right is very strong, but the women are freer than among the Tadjiks or the Sarts. Though they now live in clay and wood houses (*sakla*), their old felt tents (*yurta*) are still to be seen, especially in summer.

There is much ethnological evidence that the Usbegs belong to the same ethnic group as that people who are called by the Russians Kaizak-Kirghis, but who call themselves Kaizak. Both names—Kaizak and Usbeg—came into use only in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and even now Usbegs and Kaizak have many

clan, or perhaps moiety, names in common (Jalair, Kangli, Kipchak, Kereit, Konkrat, Naïman, Tabyn, Arghyn, Tama, and Tilaou[1]). If the name Usbeg is derived from *bek*, 'master of oneself', and the name Kaizak from the Turkic *káz*, 'steppe goose', and the Persian *zagh*, 'steppe crow',[2] with the metaphorical meaning, 'wanderers free as steppe birds', it seems possible that the origin of both names involves the same idea. Another derivation of Kaizak from *kázmak*, 'to dig', fails to commend itself, as the meaning of the word has no direct connexion with their mode of life, the Kaizak never appearing as agriculturists.

The Kaizak-Usbegs were probably bands of people who escaped from the strong state organization of the Turkic Empires of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and reverted to a nomadic life and a nomadic culture, under conditions which led to their mixing freely with such nomads as the Western Mongols. In seeking for rich pastures they were obliged to live in a state of constant war with the people who inhabited the steppes before them. Historical evidence supports this hypothesis.[3] Their warlike disposition seems to have given rise to a Tadjik proverb, referring to the Kataghan, a tribe of Usbegs of the Kundar district: 'Where the hoof of the Kataghan's horse arrives, there the dead find no grave-cloth and the living no home'.[4]

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[1] P. Kuznietsoff, *La Lutte des Civilisations et des Langues dans l'Asie centrale*, Paris, 1912, p. 60.

[2] In this part of the world a Turkic-Persian hybrid is not uncommon.

[3] V. V. Velyaminoff-Zernoff, *The Emperors and Princes of the line of Kasim*, 1860.

[4] R. B. Shaw, *A Sketch on the Turki Language as spoken in Eastern Turkistan*, Calcutta, 1880, p. 139.

In contrast to the origin of the Usbegs and the Kaizak 101
is the origin of the real Kirghis, by which is meant the Eastern or Yenisei Kirghis, called by the Russians the Burut-Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis. These have more right to be called Turanian Turks than the Kaizak, who may be said to stand between the two groups. They will therefore be dealt with under that head (Turanian).

THE KAIZAK live in the northern and eastern part of the Aral-Caspian basin, and in the Orenburg Steppes. Together with the Kara-Kirghis and some of the [162]
Yenisei Kirghis—i.e. all the people whom the Russians call Kirghis, and so include under one head in their census—they numbered 4,700,000 in 1911 as against 4,100,000 in 1897. Out of this total the non-Kaizak element may be reckoned at between 500,000 and 800,000 (in 1911).

The Kaizak say that they are sprung from the Usbegs, and that the Kara-Kirghis are sprung from dogs, but the Kara-Kirghis call themselves brothers of the Kaizak, and are in fact probably related to them, since the Kaizak have recruited themselves not only from the Usbegs but also from other Turkic states.

The Kaizak were divided by their Khan Tiavka in 619
the ~~thirteenth~~ century into three 'hordes', called Ordas. This was done for administrative purposes, but since the death of Tiavka the history of each orda runs independently.

The ordas are:

1. Ulugh-yūz (Ulu-jus) or Great Orda, living in the neighbourhood of the rivers Chu and Talas, and subdivided into the Abdan and Dolat tribes.
2. Urta-yūz (Urta-jus) or Middle Orda, living between the rivers Tobol and Irtish and the Syr Daria,

619 and subdivided into the Arghyn, Naïman, Kipchak, and Konkrat tribes.

3. Kichik-yüz (Kichik-jus) or Little Orda, living between the Aral Sea and the lower Volga, and subdivided into the Alchin and Yabbas tribes.

565 At the present time the 'hordes' of the Kaizak intermingle to a great extent, but class distinctions within the hordes are still upheld. The nobility, called Tiuri or Ak-sök, i.e. 'White Bones', trace their ancestry from Jinghis Khan, notwithstanding that the latter was a Mongol. All the other people are called Kara-sök, i.e. 'Black Bones'. 681 Some old legal customs still disregard the Russian law, as e.g. that of *baranta*, or revenge for a wrong inflicted on one tribesman or clansman, by carrying away the culprit's or his clansmen's herd.

618 Like the other Turks, the Kaizak base their social structure upon a patriarchal system. It is very difficult to define what should be called a clan among the Turks of Central Asia, in the sense in which that term is used in dealing with Africa and Australia. There seems to be a conception of a political group, called among both the Kirghis and the Kaizak *uruk* or *ru*, with its head, *bey*, *bi*, or *serdar* (possibly a confederation of such clans was once called *el*), while a group of families affiliated by blood is called by the Kaizak *taypas* or *tayfa* (by the Kirghis *kyrk*). The head of such a sub-clan, based on blood relationship, is called *ak-sakal*. An amalgamation of several sub-clans forms a *sök* (clan).

If a clan 'sök' increases in size, and wishes to divide or to migrate, the departive group sometimes takes as a name the word for the number of the sub-clans of which it is composed, e.g. *On* ('ten'), *Yur* ('a hundred'); or choose some characteristic trait of their group, e.g. Kaizak, 'Wanderers free as steppe birds', Kara-Sakal, 'Black Beards', Kara-Kalpak, 'Black Caps'. Sometimes they may adopt the name of their leader, e.g. Usbegs, Seljuk, or that of the most influential sub-clan, e.g. Sakhalar (the name of the nation called by the Russians the Yakut), though not all the members of this nation belong to the Sakhalar sub-clan. The clan-name Sakhalar (sing. Sakky) is to be found among many Turkic people of the Abakan and upper Yenisei, and it was probably only with the Russian advance at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries that one group of the Sakhalar clan migrated towards Lake Baikal, and then northwards along the Lena, while a smaller group went directly northwards along the Yenisei. This would be about the time when the Burut-Kirghis migrated from the upper Yenisei to Jungaria.[1]

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Thus in the case of these migrations the clan names are not sufficient guide in tracing the racial affinity of the people. More assistance is obtained from a study of their sub-clan crests, or *tamgas* (sing. *tamga, tamaga, tamka, dam-k'a, t'amga*), and their war-cries (*urany*, sing. *uran*). It is curious that these two most interesting sources of ethnological evidence have so far been only partly investigated, though considering the numerous divisions and subdivisions existing among the Turkic peoples, and the fact that the national names are, as has been seen, accidental and variable, any permanent means

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[1] N. N. Kosmin, *D. A. Klements and the Historical and Ethnographical Investigation of the Minusinsk Country*, Irkutsk, 1916, pp. 13-15.

618 of throwing light on their racial relationships ought to be welcomed.

[619] How complicated their tribal and clan subdivisions are is seen in the following table given by the Kaizak ethnologist Mustafa Chokayeff, to explain his own standing in the Kaizak nation.[1] He belongs to—

Turkic race,
Kaizak nation,
Middle orda,
Kipchak tribe,
Toru-aibgyr clan,
Shashli sub-clan,
Boshai branch (in Russian *kolieno*),
Janay sub-branch (*podkolieno*).

The *tamga* may be regarded as the symbol of a sub-clan (*tayfa* among the Kaizak, *kyrk* among the Kirghis), a group of families affiliated by blood, because it is such groups which usually live together, and whose live stock, whether reindeer, horses, or dromedaries, are marked by this symbol. The *tamga* appears also on their various belongings, as well as on the graves of deceased members of the clan.

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The antiquity of these symbols can be judged from the fact that they are to be seen on the old Nestorian monuments, and on the monument to Khan Kul-Tegin in the valley of the Orkhon, on which the inscriptions are in old Turkic characters, dating from 732 A.D.[2] Those who boldly derive the old Turkic written

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[1] A. N. Samoylovich, 'Prohibited words in the vocabulary of a married woman among the Kaizak', *L. A. T.*, vols. I-II, 1915, p. 162.

[2] N. A. Aristoff, *Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition*, &c., 1894, p. 410; N. Mallitski, *On the connection between the Turkic 'tamga' and the Orkhon characters*, 1897-8, p. 43.

character from the clan *tamgas* would of course claim 618
greater antiquity than that of Orkhon and Yenisei 172
inscriptions.

According to tradition, the *tamga* was introduced 618
among the Kaizak by their Khan Tiavka, because the 531
Kaizak of his time were so rich in cattle that some device of this kind was necessary for the identification of the various herds. Some think that the origin of the *tamga* is to be sought in Mongolia, but as a matter of fact it occurs among the Turks no less frequently than among the Mongols and Tungus, because the custom of marking cattle is natural and common to most pastoral people. As may be expected, the pastoral Turks, such as the Kaizak and some of the Kirghis, have the *tamga* system much more highly developed than have the sedentary part of the Kirghis, the Altaians, and the forest and mountain Turks generally. Being either hunters or agriculturists, they have less need of the *tamga* for practical purposes. The study of the *tamgas* gives in many cases a clue to the composition of the tribe; for example, among the Kaizak there are to be found *tamgas* of various Turkic tribes of Asia, either in their original form or as composite signs, thus proving conclusively the mixed origin of that people.[1]

It is difficult to ascertain how far the *tamga* corresponds to a totem. Some *tamgas* seem to represent merely geometric designs: the Naïman clans had as their favourite *tamga* an angle, the Kirei use a square. Some of the Kaizak of the Middle Orda have *tamgas* representing a 'bird's rib' (*urdas bii*), a comb (*tarak*), and a forked stick (*selak*). Sometimes, however, the

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[1] Aristoff, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

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tamga plays more obviously the rôle of a totem. Among the Turks of the Minusinsk country there exist survivals of public clan sacrifices to the spirit-owner of the clan, for instance the horse, which appears also to be the clan *tamga*.

At the present time the *tamga* is usually cut or branded on the left side of the animal, i.e. the side from which the rider mounts, but the exact place where the mark is made differs among the various tribes.

The fact that the same *tamgas* are used on graves belonging to the same clan is of assistance in tracing the migration of clans, but it is only by considering the *tamga* on the one hand, and the *uran* or war-cry on the other, that the origin of a group can be traced. The *uran* was originally the common property of a political group, a larger unit than the group of blood-relations who owned the *tamga*. It often consists of the name of a well-known chief or hero, but since the Turkic tribes have ceased to lead a warrior's life the new generation scarcely remember the battle-cry of the clan, and hence the *uran* is more difficult of discovery than the *tamga*. Grodekoff,[1] perhaps the most successful of all the investigators along these lines, found that the chief *uran* of the Great Orda, namely, of the clans Jalair and Dulat, was 'Bahtyar', the name of one of the Kaizak heroes; the Kangli have a *uran* 'Bayterek', which is
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probably a corrupt form of the same name. This community of the *uran* confirms what is now known about the relationship between the Kangli and the Jalair. Sometimes the name of the clan is used as a *uran*, as

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[1] *The Kirghis and Kara-Kirghis of the Syr Daria Territory*, 1829, pp. 2-3.

among the Seykym clan of the Kaizak, whose *uran* 618
is also 'Seykym'.

Though the Kaizak belong geographically to the 221
Iranized Turks, culturally they have on the whole 231
much affinity with the Mongols. The majority are still
nomadic cattle and horse breeders. Their method of
cattle-keeping is a most luxurious one. They leave the
cattle on the pastures the whole year round, hence
their only care is to find a fresh pasture every season.
The spring and autumn pastures may be the same. It
is only recently, since more of the land has been claimed
by the Russian Immigration Committee, that the Kaizak
have begun to lay up winter stores for their cattle.
Each clan has defined limits to its pasture lands. Under
the old Russian system the pasture land used by the
Kaizak belonged to the State, and they were granted
the use of it, dividing it at their communal gatherings
according to the number of people, cattle, and vehicles
in each class. The permanent houses, gardens, arable [428]
land, and irrigation canals are hereditary.[1]

It is curious to note that the Kaizak, whose dwellings 764
are so light and portable, bury their dead in solid structures
of wood, clay, and brick. This custom also exists
among the Kara-Kirghis, and was known to the old
Yenisei-Kirghis. As it is not found among the non-Turkic
population of Central Asia, it seems to indicate
that those who practise it now are perhaps the nearest
relatives of the people who built the old burial mounds
of the Yenisei, called *kurgans*.

THE KARA-KALPAK ('Black Caps'), another Turkic 101
tribe of the same group (134,313 in 1911 as against 162
111,799 in 1897), live in the Amu Daria district of the

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[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, p. 159.

101 Syr Daria Territory, in the Kokand district of the
162 Ferghana Territory, and some 20,000 in the Khanate
of Khiva.

221 Half of them are settled agriculturists, the rest are
231 still nomad cattle-breeders, their pasture lands being,
however, more strictly fixed than among the Kaizak.
[197] Some of them are also engaged in trading. Of all the
Kirghis group their language is the most nearly related
to that of the Western Turks.[1]

101 This may be explained by the fact that they belong
174 to the stream of Turks who participated in the westward migration some ten centuries ago.

Speaking of the origin of the Kara-Kalpak or Chornyie Klobuki, as they were called in Kieff-Russia, P. Golubowski[2] says that they were a mixture of Ghuz Turks, Pyechenyeg, and others, and that they formed that remnant of the Ghuz Turks who remained in Russia when the new wave of Turkic invaders from Asia—the Polovtsy—drove the other part of their tribe across the Danube. The remnants of the Ghuz, together, possibly, with other Turks, settled on the Russian borderlands, accepted Christianity, and were known as the Kara-Klobuk (Kara-Kalpak), while some of them moved back to Asia, and, according to V. Moshkoff, about 70,000 of them live until now in Bessarabia under the name of Ghaghauzy (Gagauzy).[3] Whether the Kara-Kalpak not living in Asia are the same as the Kara-

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[1] A. Maksimoff, 'The Kara-Kalpak', vol. XXIII, p. 454, of the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, ed. Jeleznoff.

[2] *The Pyechenyegi, the Torki and the Polovtsy until the Tatar Invasion*, Kieff, 1884, p. 151.

[3] V. Moshkoff, *Examples of the Folk-Literature of the Turkic Tribes*, St. Petersburg, 1904, p. xxii.

Kalpak who in the eleventh century were the borderland 101
population of Southern Russia, it is difficult to ascertain, 174
but possibly they re-migrated to Asia from European Russia in the eighteenth century, where Howorth thinks they formed one tribe of the Nogai-Pyechenyeg on the Yaik River.[1]

The Turanian Turks.

It is impossible to draw a well-defined line between 101
the Iranian and the Turanian groups of the Eastern Turks. Thus the Kaizak, who are here reckoned among the Iranian Turks, are in many respects closely allied to the Kara-Kirghis, who may be called the descendants of the Yenisei Kirghis. They have also affinities with the Turks of Eastern Turkestan, of Northern Mongolia, and of Siberia, all of whom might be called Turanian.

It is important to bear in mind that at present the 177
adjective 'Turanian', as applied to these people, really 101
means that they are under Mongolian, Chinese, and Tibetan cultural influences, while they have also retained to some extent the original traits of their pre-Mahometan Turkic culture. The Iranian group has fewer traits of this old Turkic culture left, owing to the predominance of Persian and Arabic cultural elements, and when we pass to the Western Turks, the infiltration of Mediterranean and Central European influence leaves few points of resemblance, other than language, between them and the Turanian Turks living one on each side of the main mass of Turkic-speaking peoples.

THE KIRGHIS, as has been said,[1] are to be distinguished

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[1] H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. II, p. 5.

[1] [See category 116 P39 -- Analyst]

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177 from the people erroneously called Kirghis, namely the Kaizak, who were dealt with among the Iranian Turks. The Kirghis, or 'Eastern Kirghis', are as a matter of fact, together with the Altai 'Tatars' and the Kirei, the truest representatives of the Turanian Turks. The name seems to be derived[1] from *kir* (*kr*), 'cultivated field', and shows that these people were originally agriculturists, as indeed we know they were during at least the period from the sixth century up to the time when the occupation of the upper Yenisei, first by the Mongol Altyn Khan, and then by the Russians, forced many of them to migrate farther south, and to take up a pastoral life. Even now part of them are agriculturists and hunters, and it is only that section which was subjected to the most frequent migrations that have adopted what may be called horse-culture. This may be defined as a mode of life dependent on cattle and especially horse breeding, hence their nomadic habits. They use the horse for riding, he provides them with food, and to a certain extent with clothing, while for heavy draught work it is the dromedary which is chiefly used.

101 The Kirghis are called by the Russians 'Eastern', 'Burut', 'Black' (Kara), or 'Mountain' Kirghis; the latter is used to distinguish them from the Kaizak Kirghis of the plains. Their home was since the beginning of our era in the valley of the Yenisei, whence they moved south under the advance of the

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773 [1] Another derivation of the name is *kyrk kys*, meaning 'forty girls', and the legend tracing the Kirghis from forty women from China who married forty men of U-si seems to uphold this (Schott, 'Über die ächten Kirgisen', *Abhandl. Berliner Akad.*, 1865, p. 432). But as a matter of fact the name by which they call themselves is not Kirghis but Krgyz.

Russians. Some few of them still live in the upper 101 Yenisei valley, where they are mixed with the Abakan 'Tatars', but the majority of them are now to be found south of Yarkand, round by Pamir and Alai, to the north of Kashgar and Aksu (the Issyk-kul district). Many of them are known under their clan-names, others form the nation of the *Kara-Kirghis.*

The Kara-Kirghis fall into two branches, a right branch, called Ong, and a left, called Sol. The Ong branch is divided into two groups, Edigzne and Tagai. The Tagai group is composed of seven clans:[1] 618

1. Bugu (Stag), near the River Tekes, and to the east of Lake Issyk-kul.
2. Sary Bagish (Yellow Elk), to the south and west of Lake Issyk-kul.
3. Solto, south of the River Chu.
4. Sayak.
5. Cherik (Army) in Ferghana.
6. Chong Bagish (Great Elk), west of Kashgar.
7. Bassyz.

The Sol branch is less numerous, and lives chiefly along the River Talas. It includes three clans, Saru, Koshi, and Munduz.

All these Kirghis clans are related by intermarriage to the Naiman and the Kipchak, who, however, are reckoned to be quite a different nation.

It must be noted that Kirghis occurs also as a clan-name among the Usbegs and the Altaians.

The Kara-Kirghis have clan *tamgas* like the Kaizak, but the headship of their clan is a hereditary office, in contradistinction to the custom of the Kaizak, whose heads are elected. The head of the Kara-Kirghis clan is called *manap*, and the head of a confederation of clans is called aga-manap.

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[1] Aristoff, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

000 clans is called *aga-manap*. A comparison of the social structure of the Kara-Kirghis with that of the Kaizak shows that the former is of a type more suited to the needs of a sedentary people, and the latter to those of nomads.

101 The comparative isolation of the Kirghis from any but Turkic tribes gives some assurance that their customs have more right than those of many other tribes to be taken as typically Turkic. A picture of their marriage ceremony may be of interest in this connexion.

583 In general the wife is purchased, but as the bride-price (*kalym*) is usually paid in instalments there exists a special *rite de passage* between the arrangement of the
585 marriage and the final wedding ceremony. After the first part of the bride-price is paid, the bridegroom and his companions, bringing rich presents to the bride's family and to the match-makers, drive to the *aul* (village) of the bride, in the neighbourhood of which he halts. Meanwhile the *djinai* (female match-makers) prepare a special tent, to which they lead the bridegroom, while the bride is carried away from her parents to another tent belonging to some relative. Then a feast is held by the bride's parents, at which neither the bridegroom nor the bride is present. Late at night the *djinai* conduct the bride and bridegroom from their separate tents to the house of the bride's parents. The bride resists ceremonially, while the bridegroom is ceremonially hindered from reaching the house by the *djinai*, one of whom pretends to be a fierce dog, another a wild cow, and so on.

Early in the morning the bridegroom goes away, and for the whole day he must avoid his parents-in-law. This goes on for about a fortnight, after which the

bridegroom leaves the *aul*. Some time after, when the 585
whole *kalym* is paid, he returns to fetch his wife, who again pretends to defend herself, and to be loath to leave her parents' *aul*. There is a show of taking her away by force. The first stage of the marriage, when [606]
the bridegroom lives in the house of the bride's parents, in regard to whom he must observe the custom of avoidance, cannot be dispensed with even if the whole *kalym* is paid at once.

Among some other Turks, such as the Turkomans and the Kazan 'Tatars', the period during which the bride remains with her people after the first marriage ceremony extends over several months, or even a couple of years.

The Kirghis are strictly exogamous as far as the 582
blood-clan is concerned. Before marriage a young woman is allowed a good deal of freedom with the men of her own clan, but custom forbids her to meet men of other clans.[1]

THE SIBERIAN TURKS[2] fall into two groups, one 101
consisting of the nation of the Yakut, the other of a conglomerate of clans and tribes known as the 'Siberian Tatars'; various branches of them are called according

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[1] P., 'The Customs of the Kirghis of the Semipalatinsk Territory', *Russian Messenger*, 1878, No. 9, pp. 32–7; A. Levshin, *Description of the Kirghis-Kaisak Hordes and Steppes*, 1832, pp. 100–102; P. E. Makovyetski, *Materials for the Study of the Juridical Customs of the Kirghis*, 1890, pp. 16–19; N. Grodekoff, *The Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis of the Syr Daria Territory*, pp. 63–5.

[2] To be distinguished from these Siberian Turks, who have been settled in the country since the very beginning of our era, are the 'Tatars' who migrated back from European Russia fairly recently. In 1897 the number of these in Asiatic Russia was 94,000, in 1911 they numbered 124,000. They are partly Nogai of the northern Caucasus, and partly Kazan 'Tatars', and many of them differ from the Russian colonists only in their Mahometan religion.

/10/ to their geographical distribution: the 'Baraba Tatars', the 'Altaians', the 'Abakan Tatars', and so on.

The *Yakut*, who are now the northernmost branch of Turkic-speaking people, live along the River Lena right up to the Arctic shore, and in the region between the Lena [162] and the Yenisei as far south as Lake Baikal. They are superior in numbers to all the 'Siberian Tatars' taken together. In 1911 they numbered 245,000, as against 225,000 in 1897, while the 'Tatars' numbered 208,000 in 1911, plus some 4,000 people classed by the Russian officials as 'Turks of undefined nationality', as against 175,000 in 1897, plus some 3,000 'Turks of undefined nationality'.[1]

233 Under the influence of their new environment[2] the [178] Yakut have been driven to take up reindeer-breeding and a nomadic tundra life, but in their social and religious institutions survivals of the more settled conditions of their southern home are still to be seen.[3]

Of all the Turks of Asia the Yakut are the most typical representatives of what may be spoken of as 'reindeer-culture'.[4] The reindeer is to this region what the horse is to the Central Asian steppe-nomads. It supplies food, clothes, bone-implements, and is used for draught work. But while the people who have been living for a long time at the stage of reindeer-culture, such as the Koryak of the north-east or the Samoyed of the north-west, never use reindeer for riding, the Yakut ride their reindeer as their ancestors rode the horse, a practice which is looked upon with disfavour by their neighbours. It must be remembered that 233 while the reindeer is not known to the Turks of Tian-Shan and the upper Yenisei, the latter people have several other species of deer, especially the elk (*Cervus alces*) and the maral (*Cervus elephas*). The domesticated deer is rare.

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[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, pp. 79–80.

[2] See p. 41.

[3] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 1914, pp. 107, 277, 297.

[4] B. Laufer, 'The Reindeer and its Domestication', *Mem. of the Amer. Anthrop. Assoc.*, vol. IV, No. 2, 1917.

Forming a wedge between the Tungusic and the 177 Palaeo-Siberian tribes, the Yakut impose their language, together with many of their customs, on both these groups, as well as on the Russian settlers. In religion [791] they are typical Shamanists.

On meeting a Yakut among the various Mongoloid 142 peoples of the north, one is at once struck with the difference in his physiognomy. His hair and eyes are darker, his nose narrower and better marked, and on the whole he gives the impression of possessing Southern, and one might almost say Semitic, characteristics. And yet he can hardly be suspected of having any Arabic strain.

The *Siberian Tatars* live chiefly in the Tomsk and 101 191 Yeniseisk Governments. In the Tomsk Government, 70 per cent. of them do not know any language but their own; the remaining 30 per cent. speak Russian also. In the Yeniseisk Government only 12 per cent. speak the Russian language besides their own.

As to their religion some of them are Mahometans, 779 101 namely:

1. Tobolsk Tatars and 'Siberian Bokharians' of the Tobolsk district.
2. The Baraba Tatars of the Kainsk district.
3. The Tomsk Tatars of the Mariinsk district.
4. The Kuznietsk Tatars of the Kuznietsk and Barnaul district.

Others,[1] are still Shamanists or 'Christian-Shamanists', 101 177 791

[1] [i.e. Siberian Tartars--- Analyst]

101 people who mix their pagan practices with some of the
177 Russian Orthodox Church beliefs. Those are:

791 5. The Forest (Chern) Tatars of the Biisk district.

6. The Teleut and Telengit of the Biisk and Kuznietsk districts.

7. The Kumandits (or 'White Kalmucks') of the Kuznietsk and Biisk districts.

8. The Shortes and Lebyedints of the Kuznietsk district.

9. The Kyzyl and Chulim natives of the Achinsk district.

10. The Abakan Tatars (Kachints, Koibal, Beltir, and Sagai) of the Minusinsk district.

11. The Karagass of the Nijneudinsk district of the government of Irkutsk.

12. The Kamashints of the Kansk district.

177 The *Teleut* of the Kuznietsk district are perhaps the
101 most Russified, while the *Telengit*, along the rivers
144 Biya and Katun, are very much mixed with the Mongols.
The following tribes are said to be mixed with the Ugrian-Ostyak, the Yenisei-Ostyak, and the Samoyed, though in culture, language, and tradition they are now Turkic:

1, The Kamashints; 2, the Karagass; 3, the Koibal; 4, the Beltir; 5, the Kyzyl; 6, the Shortes; 7, the Kumandints.

144 The racial origin of these tribes has been defined,
618 often superficially, merely judging from the names of
their clans. Thus the Kyzyl (*Kysi*, 'man') are composed of ten classes: Kyzyl, Malo-Achin, Bolshe-Achin, Agy, Bassagar, Kamnär, Argyn, Kalmak, Kurchik, Shui. Of these, Argyn clan is said to be the remnant of the Kaizäk of the Middle Orda, because those people have also had a clan of this name. Kalmak clan is also

found among the Teleut, and Shui among Yenisei 618
Ostyak, hence the admixture of the two races is attributed to Kyzyl by Radloff.[1] 144

Most of the Siberian Tatars, as well as Northern 101
Uriankhai, call themselves Tuba, either exclusively or 174
alongside with their tribal name, *Tuba* being the name of one of their clans. This name *Tuba*, *Tubas*, *Tupo* or *Doubo*, like the word *Tatar*, should be used with great caution, until its origin and meaning have been more clearly defined. It seems to have been adopted by the Chinese as a collective term for the people living in the Southern Yenisei Region, probably along the river of this name, the right tributary of the Yenisei. The Russian historians of Siberia, Miller[2] and Fischer,[3] mention the people of Tuba as paying tribute to the Mongol Altyn Khan, and opposing for a long time Russian conquest, but it is not clear whether this name had a racial meaning, designating, e. g., the extinct Arine, Kottes, &c., or the Samoyed, or was used only as a geographical term for all peoples living near the River Tuba. Now at any rate it does not seem to be limited entirely to the tribes whom one can suspect of having some Samoyed blood in them, for it is found among the Altaians, whom even Castrén and Kostroff with all their 'Pan-Samoyedic' theory could not call 'Tatarised Samoyed'. It is found moreover among the *Kachints*, who, according to Katanoff,[4] were Kuchum-Khan people, who moved to the River Kacha, near Krasnoyarsk, after the defeat of Kuchum, and farther

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[1] A. A. Yariloff, *The Kyzyl and their Industry*, 1899, p. 1.

[2] G. F. Miller, *Description of the Tsardom of Siberia* (1750).

[3] J. E. Fischer, *Sibirische Geschichte* (1768).

[4] 'Legends relating to old deeds and old people among the tribes living near the Sayan Mountains', *Mem. I. R. G. S.*, vol. XXXIV, 1909, p. 280.

101 174 south later on. But its distribution is still wider: the eastern neighbours of the Uriankhai, the *Darkat* and the *Uigur*, living on the shores of Lake Kossogol, have a clan called Tuba, though no tribe here uses this name for itself as a whole. The Darkat now speak a Mongolian language, but in tradition they seem to have more in common with the Turks than with the Mongols.

The *Tuba* is not the only clan-name so widely spread; there are others, such as Kirghis, Sokka, Oirat Ari, &c., while some clan-names, such as Kaska among the 175 Kachints, are peculiar to one tribe. On the whole, the Siberian Tatars cannot be compared to the Kaizak with regard to their memory of the tribal and clan past. Katanoff[1] found that this lack of tradition seems to characterize all the Turks known as 'Tatars'. 'The Kazan Tatars do not have any written or oral record relating to the important fact of the fall of Kazan, under the pressure of Ivan the Terrible, and the Tobolsk Tatars scarcely have any records giving accounts of the Tsar Kuchum and his wars with the Russians. But perhaps the fault rests more with Kuchum's personality, for it is not so much the events which are important in history as the personality of heroes that inspire the oral tradition. Thus a certain hero Kangza, unknown in history, has very many tales devoted to him among the Teleut (Radloff), the Altaians (Vyerbitski), and the Abakan Tatars (Katanoff).

101 Of all the Siberian Tatars the most interesting ethnologically are the *Chern* (in Russian) or *Black Forest 'Tatars'*, also known as *Altaians*, though the name Altaians is wider and includes also some other Tatars, such as the Kumandints. The Altaians call themselves

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 267.

Iish Kysi (*Iish*, 'black forest', 'chern'; *Kysi*, 'men'). 101
In language and religion they keep free from foreign admixture, they are therefore typical Turanian Turks. Their mode of life is sedentary whenever the environment allows them to practise agriculture. In religion they are Shamanists.

THE TURKS OF NORTH-WESTERN MONGOLIA AND EASTERN TURKESTAN. While the Altaians or Chern 'Tatars' occupy the Northern Altai, there lives in the Southern, so-called Little Altai, along the Black Irtish, in Jungaria and in Eastern Turkestan, another Turkic tribe, a rival of the Altaians as representative of the pure Turanian type. This is the tribe called *Kirei*, *Kerrit*, *Kerrait*, or *Kirai*. The chief distinction between the Kirei and the Altaians is now a religious one, the Kirei being Mahometans. We know that from the [795] eleventh to the thirteenth centuries they were adherents of Christianity in the form of Nestorianism, and it is among them that the fabulous Christian king Prester John (probably the native king Ouang-Khan, a contemporary of Jinghis Khan) is said to have lived. [821] In mode of life they are at present nomads, and are well known as hunters.[1]

The Kirei are sometimes called *Kirei-Kirghis*, and it is possible that in the period from the beginning of [174] our era till the sixth century, when the Kirghis were spreading in the basin of the upper Yenisei, one clan, the Kirei, were left behind, ~~and~~ settled in the Kemchik valley. Again, when in the seventeenth century the Yenisei-Kirghis were retiring before the Russian advance, from the Minusinsk steppes southwards to Jungaria and Mongolia, some of them may have settled

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[1] D. Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia*, vol. II, pp. 351-5.

101 among the Kirei, who had meanwhile become to some extent Mongolized.[1]

To the south-west of the Kirei, in Kulja and in the western part of Chinese Turkestan, on the slopes of the Tian-Shan, live remnants of various Turanian Turks, sometimes called *Kashgarians*, many of whom are perhaps the direct descendants of the old Uigur, and possibly have also a strain of the pre-Turkic Aryan population of which traces are still to be found in Central Asia. In language, and probably in physical
[779] type, they are among the purest Turanians. Most of them, especially those who are Chinese subjects, are Mahometans. They are chiefly cattle-breeders. Such are the *Yerlik*, the *Kashgarlik*, and the *Yelisherlik*. Those subject to Russia number some 54,000 (in 1911).
[178] Since the great upheaval caused by the conquests of Jinghis Khan, and the migrations which followed, these people have remained stationary to a degree impossible anywhere but in the heart of the Asiatic continent, but it is not impossible that under a helpful and sympathetic government all of them, whether Russian or Chinese subjects, might awake to play their part in the future history of Asia.

The country to the east of the region occupied by the Chern 'Tatars' or Altaians, and to the south of that occupied by the Abakan 'Tatars', i.e. that part of the Yeniseisk Government between the Sayan Mountains and the Tannu Ola range, is called Uriankhai, and its 100,000 inhabitants are usually grouped together under the same name, Uriankhai, sometimes in its
167 Chinese form, *Uriangut*. The northern part of the country, along the River Ussa, began to be colonized

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[1] While Vambéry and Cahun reckon the Kirei as Turks, Skrine and Ross reckon them as Mongols. See note to p. 72.

by the Russians in 1856, and was practically annexed /167 by them in 1886. The whole country became almost independent of China after Mongolia declared its independence in 1914, and the old Russian Government, intending to occupy this rich pasture land, had begun to colonize it energetically. This aroused some opposition among the natives, who, having scarcely felt their dependence on China, were not prepared to give up their best lands to the Russian Colonization Committee. Many Uriankhai have for the last three years been moving in clan order, with all their herds, into the steppes of Northern Mongolia. This is, in fact, the most recent *en masse* migration in Central Asia. It has ceased, however, since the Russian Revolution, owing to the influence exercised by Siberian scholars and public men, such as G. Potanin and A. Adrianoff, in the protection of the rights of the natives.[1]

The Uriankhai are sometimes called *Soyot* (sing. /101 *Soyan*, from the clan-name *Saya*). But it is not certain whether this name ought to be applied to all of them. The name by which they call themselves in the North is *Tuba*.

According to the East Turkic scholar Katanoff, the 197 language of the Uriankhai is Turko-Tatar,[2] but of 144 course they are now mixed to a great extent with the Mongols. It must be remembered that Castrén and some of his followers are inclined to see in the Uriankhai members of the original Samoyed-Yeniseian race, who mixed with the Turks and adopted a Turkic language.[3]

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[1] See articles in *Sibirskaya Jisn*, Feb. 26, 1916, May 3, 1917.

[2] E. K. Yakovleff, *Ethnographical Survey of the Native Population of the Valley of Southern Yenisei*, Minusinsk, 1900, p. 18.

[3] M. A. Castrén, *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*, vol. IV, pp. 83-6; D. Carruthers, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 20, 52-5, 200; vol. V, pp. 116-17.

197 174 That at one time a Samoyed group might have migrated to the Soyot (Uriankhai) is not out of the question, since many clan-names of the Samoyed and the Uriankhai are alike. But no other signs of this relationship can be found now, and the southernmost Turks, who may have been originally Samoyed, are the Kamashints, some of whom, at the time of Castrén's travels (1840–50), were speaking a Samoyedic dialect. When Radloff visited them, however (about 1865), all signs of Samoyedic speech had disappeared, and only a Turkic dialect was in use.

233 174 Radloff thinks that the Uriankhai are the forefathers of the present Yakut,[1] which, however, sounds improbable, if only because the Uriankhai are almost the most successful reindeer-breeders known, whilst the Yakut learnt that art only after their migration to the north.

619 The number of the Uriankhai is some 100,000. Until recently they formed one *aimak* or province of China. They are subdivided into nine local groups (*khoshun* or *kopun*), which again are divided into *sumo* or tribes. The *sumo* is further subdivided into *sōk*, clans, or [618] perhaps moieties. The clan-names are mostly of Turkic origin, many of them being found also among other Turanian Turks, e.g. Irgit, Soyan, Kirghis, Kaizak, Koeluk, Uigur, &c.

233 The Uriankhai living in the steppe country are mostly cattle-breeders; some of them, however, depend chiefly on hunting and fishing. It is only in this region that we find the breeding of horse, yak, and reindeer for

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[1] Radloff, 'Die Jakutische Sprache', *Bull. I.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 54–6. For opposite opinion see I. P. Silinich, 'On the question of the physical type of the population of North-west Siberia', *Russ. Anthr. J.*, Nos. 3–4, 1916, pp. 51–3.

draught purposes carried on together, and in a way it characterizes the Uriankhai, for they seem to combine the traits of the Mongol horse-nomads, the Turkic hunters and cattle-breeders, and the Tungus reindeer-breeders. 233

History.

The history of the Turks in Central Asia falls roughly into the following periods: 175

I. From the first vague mention of them in the Chinese annals of the Tang and Yu dynasties (2356-2200 B.C.), and the no less vague mention in the *Avesta* (if it is right to identify 'Tura' with Turks), to the middle of the sixth century A.D., when the name Tu-kiu (Turks) appears for the first time.

II. From the rise of the Tu-kiu, through the period of rapid independent development, to the Mongolian invasion in the thirteenth century.

III. From the thirteenth century through the period of the great migrations started by the Jinghis Khan conquests, and of the still independent Turkic states under Mongolian dynasties, to the beginning of the Russian advance in the seventeenth century.

IV. From the seventeenth century, through the period of the wars with Russia and of subsequent Russian rule, to the Russian Revolution of 1917.

First Period. The probable ancestors of the Turks lived to the north of China, and were mentioned by the Chinese chroniclers as long ago as the third millennium B.C. on account of their raids on China, but of course scarcely any mention is made by the Chinese of the Turks living to the far north and far west of China.

The first name now identified as that of the ancestors of the Turks is *Hiung-nu*. According to Professor Parker,[1] there exists 'a Hiung-nu tradition that about 1200 B.C. a (Chinese) royal personage who had most probably been misconducting himself fled to the nomads of the north and founded among them a sort of dynasty'. The Chinese are concerned with their neighbours on the north-west, the Hiung-nu, and on the north-east, the *Tung-hu* (subsequently Tungus), only so far as these barbarians annoyed them. The Emperors of the Tsin dynasty (255–209 B.C.) built the Great Wall to protect their northern frontiers, and this directed the strategic movements of the Hiung-nu in the second century B.C. towards the west. It is possible that some branches of them may have migrated westwards before the construction of the Great Wall, and then continued to develop quietly in their new home, otherwise it is hard to understand the high degree of organized culture in which we find them in the Altai and Yenisei region about 200 B.C.,[2] when we hear that the Kirghis and the Usuni were already there, and had found some remnants of still earlier Turkic immigrants. They may possibly have been in possession of this region already in the Bronze Age, unless, of course, we assume the independent origin of the Altai and Yenisei Turks, and take the Hiung-nu as representing a stage when the easternmost Turks were not yet differentiated from the Mongols.

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[1] E. H. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, 1895, p. 3. Another Chinese translator, Father Jakinth Bichurin, gives a different version of the origin of the Hiung-nu dynasty: Shun-wei, son of the last emperor of the Hia dynasty, went in 1764 B.C. to Mongolia, and there started the Hiung-nu dynasty. Bichurin considers the Hiung-nu to be Mongols. (*Collection of Information concerning Peoples living in Central Asia*, 1851, vol. I.)

[2] N. A. Aristoff, *Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition*, &c., p. 460.

A more clearly defined stage is that of the Hun-nu Empire (possibly a form derived from Hiung-nu), which united under its domination most of the Turkic tribes of Central Asia. The reign of Mété (209–179 B.C.) seems to mark the climax of their power in Asia. The information gathered from the Chinese annals gives us the geographical distribution of the Turks of that time, who were divided into two hostile groups, Western and Eastern, both subject to Mété. The Eastern Turks were composed of the Uigur, between Tannu Ola and the Yellow River, and between the Tian-Shan and the basin of the Tarim. To the north of them lived the Din-lin (Telengit?), near Tannu Ola. The Kirghis (Khakas) lived along the Yenisei, and the Karluk and Tu-kiu in the Altai, and as far south as Tarbagatai.

The Western Turks comprised the Usun (Usuni), who lived to the south of Lake Balkash; the Kangli (Kan-giu), farther west as far as Amu Daria; the Yüe-Chi,[1] still farther to the south-west as far as the Caspian Sea; and the Yao-Chi, to the north of the last-named.

The Usun power in the western part of Turan (rivers Ili and Chu) dates chiefly from the end of the second century B.C. to the first century A.D. Since they found on their arrival the Kangli (Kan-giu) Turks settled in the Tian-Shan, it was with them that they struggled for the predominance, and both sides called for help either to the Chinese or to the Hun-nu.[2] But

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[1] W. W. Radloff, *Concerning the Uigur*, 1893, p. 126.

[2] Aristoff, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

175 when both of them were subdued by the Hun-nu, their two tribes intermingled, and a part of them migrated to the northern outskirts of their territory, to escape the despotic rule of their conquerors, the Hun-nu. It is possible to look upon these groups as the earliest Kaizak organization, later imitated by the Cossacks.

All these probably Turkic tribes, and many remnants of 'Aryan' peoples and states in Central Asia, were under the rule of Mété,[1] who divided his empire into twenty-four parts, governed by six princes and six administrators. Within each part a strictly military organization prevailed, with units of 10, 100, 1000, and 10,000 men.

Nineteen of these twenty-four groups were composed of Uigur. Ten of them formed a confederation called On-Uigur, and nine another confederation called Togus-Uigur. The latter lived to the north of the On-Uigur. Professor Radloff thinks that as the bulk of the Hun-nu Empire was composed of On-Uigur, it is possible that the name Hun-nu is only a corrupt form of On-Uigur, On-Ui.[2]

The Chinese feared the power of the Hun-nu so much that about the middle of the second century B.C. they tried to make a defensive alliance with the Yüe-Chi, who, at the end of the pre-Christian era and the beginning of our own, formed one of the most powerful empires of Central Asia. Though that attempt failed, we hear that the Hun-nu, after having defeated the

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[1] Though Professor Radloff reckoned the Yüe-Chi as a Turkic tribe, it is more probable that they were a Tung-hu tribe surrounded by Turkic people, with whom the Chinese confused them. They are later known as Kushan.

[2] Radloff, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

Wusun (Usuni) near Ili in 176 B.C., and the Yüe-Chi near the Tarim valley, were subsequently conquered by the Yüe-Chi at the end of the first century B.C., and that in the same century a Hun-nu prince submitted to China.[1]

Subsequently the eastern half of the Hun-nu Empire was divided into northern and southern parts, both of which had finally fallen by A.D. 215. The downfall of the Hun-nu Empire was thus due to the combined efforts of the Chinese and the Tung-hu, and indeed a Tung-hu power (Sien-pi, Toba, and Moyun) was then arising between China and the Turks.

It would seem as if the Hun-nu, their power in Asia ruined by all these defeats, migrated westwards in the second and third centuries, particularly the On-Uigur branch of them. Taking these to be the Huns who terrified Europe in the fifth century, we know that in A.D. 275 they were on the Volga, afterwards advancing farther west. At the same time another stream of the Hun-nu directed its course towards Transoxania, where they were known as the White Huns of Ephthalites. From there they successfully advanced on Persia and India, until in A.D. 528 their movement was checked by a confederation of Hindu princes.

Some of the tribes who entered into the composition of the Hun-nu Empire of Mété, and already at that period had a marked individuality, were the Khakas, later called Kirghis, and the Kiao-Che ('High-Carts'), later called Uigur. The Chinese historians say that the Kirghis and the Uigur (both of whom they call sometimes Ting-ling, sometimes Kankalis) use the same

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[1] É. Chavannes, *Les Documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental*, Oxford, 1913, p. vii.

175 language, and Professor Parker makes the suggestion that all the cart-using people of Hiung-nu origin north of the desert region of Issyk-Kul and Syr Daria were once called Ting-ling.[1]

How far the other tribes of Central Asia prominent towards the end of the pre-Christian era, for instance the Saka, were related to the Hun-nu it is difficult to ascertain, but in any case the 'Aryan' population of West Central Asia must have been considerably long after the Graeco-Bactrian kingdoms were destroyed by the Yüe-Chi. The lack of information about the linguistic affinities of these people makes it difficult to define them in the very early centuries of our era. It is known, for instance, that the Hun-nu used the Turkic language in the fourth century A. D.,[2] but whether it was their original language is not clear.

[142] We hear that the Usuni (Wusun) of Ili and Balkash, and the Khakas (later Kirghis), were fair-haired and blue-eyed. This may be explained either by their contact with some 'Aryan' people, or by attributing to them an 'Aryan' origin. In 95 B.C. the Chinese said that the Khakas lived in the regions of the Kem and the upper Yenisei. Then again in the third century A.D. we hear about the 'blond Kirghis' (Kien-kun) as being very powerful and providing 20,000 men in time of war.[3] Of course, we have no proof that the fair Khakas of that time, and their kin the Uigur, were Turkic-speaking people, except that some names of objects and of the months mentioned by the Chinese

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[1] Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

[2] Barthold, review of Aristoff's *Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition*, &c., p. 343.

[3] O. Donner, 'Sur l'origine de l'alphabet turc du Nord de l'Asie', *J. Soc. Fin.-Ougr.*, Helsingfors, 1896, XIV, p. 70.

in connexion with the Khakas are in a Turkic language.[1] 175 After the ninth century the Chinese no longer speak of them as Khakas, but as Kili-ki-dze, which, according to Klements, is a Chinese pronunciation of the name Kirghis. The time of the greatest development of the Kirghis belongs to the seventh to ninth centuries, i.e. to the second period of Turkic history.

The Uigur are first heard of about the second century B.C., and the Chinese had constant relations with them from that time till the sixteenth century, so that the history of the Uigur runs through all the first three periods of Turkic history. But as the evolution of this important tribe is an essential part of the history of the Turks in Central Asia it will be useful to give here a consecutive account of them in some detail.

The Uigur were known to the Chinese under the 175/101 names Hao-Hui, Kao-Che, Kan-Hui, Vei-He, U-He, U-Hu, Hon-He, and Hu. It was through the various Asiatic transliterations of the name Uigur that European writers came across it. The first mention of it is found in Ptolemy.[2] In its present form the name seems first to have been used in the Mahometan histories at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[3] Rashid al-Dīn says that in his time the name Uigur was applied to a large group of Turkic tribes living between the sources of the Yenisei and the Selenga. But after this, in fact until the seventeenth century, most of the Eastern Turks were known under this name.

While most Turkic scholars, such as Rashid al-Dīn,

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[1] N. N. Kosmin, *D. A. Klements and Historical and Ethnographical Research in the Minusinsk Country*, Irkutsk, 1916, p. 7.

[2] *Serica*, Liber IV, p. 16, 3.

[3] Skrine and Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

175 101 Abul Ghazi, Kasem Beg, Vambéry, Klaproth, and Schott, derive the name Uigur from a Turkic root, J. I. Schmidt refers it to the Mongolian language, and places the origin of the Uigur people in Tibet.[1] If we accept Professor Radloff's view that the bulk of the Hun-nu, or rather the southern branch of them, were the On-Uigur, then we know that most of them moved towards the west along the steppes lying north of Tian-Shan. But the people who played their part in the history of Central Asia were those of the On-Uigur who remained behind in Eastern Turkestan, especially in the basin of the Tarim, and the Togus-Uigur in the northern part of the present Mongolia. That branch of them who were already established near the Aral Sea in the second century A.D. are often called by their neighbours simply *On* or *Onlar* ('Ten').[2] Later, when after the death of Attila the Hunnic Empire broke into separate tribes, they again assumed their tribal names, viz. On-Uigur, Utigur, Sary-Uigur, Kotrigur, while the name Hun almost disappears. Of these tribes, the On-Uigur are known to have been in the north of the Caucasus in the seventh century, on their way back to Asia.[3]

174 It is difficult to follow the exact fate of these remnants of the Hun-nu Empire. Presumably a part of them settled among the Finnic tribes of the steppe forest near the Urals, but there is so far very little proof in support of the somewhat vague assumption that the

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[1] *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Völker Mittelasiens*, St. Petersburg, 1824, p. 95.

[619] [2] Among the Turks a confederation of tribes very often has as its name the number of the tribes composing it, e.g. Uz, 100, probably the same as Ghuz. Radloff, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[3] Radloff, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

powerful Finnic state of Ugra, which in the tenth and eleventh centuries stretched between the Volga and the Urals, owes its name to the Uigur. 174

Of the Uigur who stayed in Asia, i.e. the Togus Uigur, we know that in the fifth century they emancipated themselves from the power of the Jwen-Jwen, and created an independent state called by the Chinese Hao-fu. At the time of the hegemony of the Tu-kiu the Uigur also were subdued to them. When in turn the leading rôle among the Turks of Central Asia passed to the Uigur dynasty (A. D. 744–847), the name of the state was again Togus-Uigur ('Nine Tribes'), though it was composed of more than that number of tribes. The capital of the Khagan of the Togus-Uigur was Karakorum on the River Orkhon. Some fourteen Khagans ruled during the period of Uigur power. When, in consequence of the intrigues of the Chinese with the other Turkic tribes, the Uigur dynasty and political power were undermined and finally overthrown at the hands of the Kirghis (A. D. 847), the Uigur culture, which was of a high order, still flourished in Western China, Eastern Turkestan, and the district of Hami. It was in that district that the later Uigur state, under the dynasty of the Arslan Khans, continued its existence, and curiously enough it enjoyed an independent and influential position, since its civilization spread among the nomadic Mongols, and even in Transoxania. This position the Uigur owed solely to their great ability, and to their sedentary agricultural mode of life, which raised them, as it did the Yenisei Kirghis, above their nomadic neighbours. They came under the influence of Buddhism, of Christianity, and later on of Islam. In the western part of the Uigur country 175 [177]

175 a new political power, that of the Islamic Uigur dynasty of Ilek Khan, arose, and its domination spread as far as Bokhara. But the advance of the Kara-Kidan once more overthrew the power of the Uigur, who were obliged to recognize the suzerainty of the Kara-Kidan. These in their turn succumbed before Jinghis Khan. Yet even in the times of the Mongolic rule of Jinghis Khan the Uigur culture did not fail to make itself felt, and still later it was able to produce the well-known Nestorian patriarchs, Rabban Cauma and Jabalaha.[1]

Second Period. It is not easy to trace the history of any other Turkic tribe with the same continuity. Turning to the Tu-kiu, with whom begins the second period of the history of the Turks in Central Asia, we meet with them first about A. D. 550, at the time when the Sassanides were reigning in Persia, when we find them living, under the name of Assena, between the Altai and the Syr Daria.

101 Professor Parker derives the word Tu-kiu from the Turkic word *durkö*, meaning 'helmet', from the shape of the mountain to which the Turkic tribe of Assena migrated to escape from the despotic rule of the Sien-pi (Tung-hu). They seem, however, not to have been independent even there, since they had to serve the then powerful Jwen-Jwen as workers in iron.[2] They
adopted the name of the mountain Durkö as a tribal name.

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[1] J. B. Chabot, *Histoire du Patriarche Mar Jabalaha III et du Moine Rabban Cauma*, traduite du Syriaque, 1893, vol. I, p. 578.

[174] [2] The Jwen-Jwen (Zhu-Zhu) are possibly the ancestors of the Avars, who appeared in Europe in the sixth century, and forming a wedge between the Eastern and Western Slavs, soon amalgamated with them. Blochet identifies the name Jwen-Jwen with Ib-Ib, Ibim, Ibil, Ibir, from which he derives Sybir, Siberia, and he believes the Jwen-Jwen to be of Tungus stock, and identical with the Sien-pi ('Le Nom des Turcs dans l'Avesta', *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 305).

adopted the name of the mountain Durkö as a tribal 000
name.

There seems to be some confusion as to the geographical position of the mountain thus connected with the rise of the Durkö, Tu-kiu, or Turks. Professor Parker[1] places it not far from the city of Shan-tan in the modern province of Kan-su, which in the sixth century was called Kin-shan, i.e. 'Golden Mountains'. But the birthplace of the Turks is usually held to be the Altai Mountains, which are also called Kin-shan. Since when we first hear of the Turks they are expert metal-workers, it would seem that the Altai, with its incomparable mineral wealth, is more likely to be the Kin-shan of the Chinese sources. All modern archaeological and ethnological investigations support this view. 103

At the end of the fifth century the Tu-kiu became very prosperous, probably thanks to their metal industry and the richness of the mountains near which they settled, and in A.D. 530 their prince Tumen (Tumin) threw off the yoke of the Jwen-Jwen and soon subjugated all the Turkic states of Central Asia to himself, adopting the title of Il-Khagan.[2] For a short time— 175

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[1] Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[2] It would seem that the title Khagan (Khan), usually so closely associated with the Turks, and occurring in the Turkic inscriptions of the Orkhon, is not Turkic, but Tungus. But this hypothesis of Blochet holds good only if it be assumed that the Jwen-Jwen were Tungus, and that Tumen used their title after taking the hegemony in Central Asia from them. The title used by the chiefs of the Huns was Chab-gu, and at the time when the Huns were at the height of their power the chiefs of the Jwen-Jwen Tungus adopted the title Chab-gu, until at the beginning of the fifth century they were strong enough to impose on other people their own title of Khagan, which was taken up by Tuimien in 552 (Blochet, *op. cit.*, p. 305). 643 177

175 from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the seventh centuries—the Turks of Central Asia were again united and independent, as at the time of Mété. Soon, however, the eastern part of the empire passed under Chinese domination. Then it again became independent under the Uigur dynasty (A. D. 744–847).

177 The western part of the Tumen Empire escaped the domination of the Chinese only to fall under Arabian influence, and subsequently under the intellectual supremacy of Iran, during the renaissance of Iranian culture under the dynasty of the Samanides in the tenth century. Thus the splendour of Transoxania at that time was obviously the work of the Persians, not of the Turks, who must be judged rather by the civilization of the Eastern Empires. It was from these Eastern Empires that the main migrations of the Turks of that epoch originated.

From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries the Turks under Karluk[1] and Seljuk advanced into Turkestan, increasing the Turkic population there and destroying the Iranian culture. Some of them pushed on farther towards Asia Minor, while others followed a northern route via the Caspian and Black Sea steppes.

101 Four main groups of Turkic invaders of Southern Russia can be distinguished between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries: the Pyechenyeg or Kangli, the Khazar (possibly the plural of Khazak, Kaizak), the Uz (Ghuz) or Turki, and the Kuman (Kipchak) or Polovtsy.[2]

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[101] [1] A. Vambéry identifies the people of Karluk with the tribe of Naiman, and says that they were Turks (*op. cit.*, p. 15). Cahun would also class the tribe of Naiman, as well as the other Christian tribe, the Kirei, as Turks (*op. cit.*, pp. 208–9), while Skrine and Ross class both Kirei and Naiman as Mongols (*op. cit.*, p. 152).

[2] P. Golubowski, *op. cit.*, p. 56. See p. 46.

When the Khazar appeared in Eastern Europe at the end of the ninth century they pushed the Pyechenyeg, who had already been there for about half a century, towards the west. Again, the Pyechenyeg, as they were forced westwards, drove before them, into the Danube region, the Magyars, the Asiatic people who preceded the Pyechenyeg in their westward migration.

The Kirghis appear again in this second period. During the supremacy of the Karluk (from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the twelfth centuries) they occupied the country stretching from the Yenisei to the westernmost part of Tian-Shan. Here they developed almost independently of the Karluk. When in the twelfth century the Kara-Kidan extended their power over Tian-Shan, they had great trouble in subjugating the Kirghis.

Third Period. A new era in the history of the Turks begins with the Jinghis Khan invasions at the very beginning of the thirteenth century. It is still a disputed point whether the Jinghis Khan invasions can be called Mongol, or whether they were largely Turkic, but carried out under the military supremacy of a handful of Mongolian steppe nomads. It began, as Professor Parker says, 'in the humblest way, grew as it rolled over the plains like a huge snowball, absorbing almost everything in its way'.[1]

Until then the main struggles of China had been with the two neighbouring races, the Hiung-nu and the Tung-hu, and it is somewhat obscure what position the Mongols occupied towards these races. One thing is certain, however, that culturally the Mongols were the most backward people, since the Tung-hu were

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[1] Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

175 always influenced by Chinese civilization and the Hiung-nu by Chinese plus Iranian.[1] This will explain why Jinghis Khan himself and all his dynasty were under obligations to Turkic culture. We hear that Jinghis Khan had as preceptor for his sons a Uigur Turk named Tatatungo,[2] and in the religious and cultural toleration he is known to have shown to the conquered countries the preference was given to the Turks. Two Turkic sovereigns contemporary with Jinghis Khan, Ouang Khan ('Prester John') of the Kirei and Tai-Yang-Khan of the Naïman, were devoted Nestorian Christians.

101 Thanks to the researches of Rashid al-Dīn, it is

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144 [1] Such would be the view obtained from as independent a standpoint as possible. It must be remembered, however, that Mongolian scholars would be ready to find a much larger Mongol element present in pre-Jinghis Khan times, and would attribute the Jinghis Khan conquests to the genius of the Mongolic race. There are tribes, such as the ancient 'Tatars'—some of them, namely the Otui and Tokus 'Tatars', mentioned in the inscriptions of Bilghe Khan in the Orkhon valley as dependent on Turkic *ela* (confederacy)—whom Mongolian scholars such as Father Jakinth Bichurin would reckon with the Mongols, while the Turkic scholar N. A. Aristoff reckons them with the Turks. And if a Tungus scholar cared to trace the origin of the name Tatar (a subdivision of Tatan) in the Chinese annals as translated by Bichurin, he would find that the name Tatan was adopted in the ninth century by a branch of the Mo-ho (Mokho) who were descendants of Sushen and Ilu, now recognized as being of Tungus race. In the twelfth century the Tatan confederacy was composed of Mongol, Khere, Taigut, and Tatar tribes. Bichurin gives Jinghis Khan as one of the four princes belonging to it. (W. Thomsen, 'On the Orkhon and Yenisei Monuments with Inscriptions', *J. Min. Educ.*, June, 1898; J. Bichurin, *Notes on Mongolia*, vol. II, pt. iii, pp. 174–7; N. A. Aristoff, 'Notes on the Ethnic Composition of the Turkic Tribes and Nations', *L. A. T.*, 1896, III and IV, pp. 277–456.)

[2] Skrine and Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

possible to obtain a clear idea of the tribes inhabiting 161
Central Asia in his time. From his knowledge of them, 144
and the information he collected, he divides them into three groups: (1) the Ogus Turks and their kindred, of purely Turkic blood; (2) the tribes which were taken for Mongols in the thirteenth century, but who were in fact Mongolized Turks; (3) the tribes of purely Mongol blood, who lived on the eastern and northern outskirts of the Turkic lands.[1] Hence the tribes called pure Turks by Rashid al-Dīn probably inhabited the lands which are known to have recovered their Turkic features after the death of Jinghis Khan.

Of the states that arose after the death of Jinghis 175
Khan in 1227 the most Turkic were the Middle Empire (Eastern and Western Turkestan), ruled over by his son Jagatai and his descendants, and Dasht-i-Kipchak, i.e. the country of the lower Volga, the North Caspian Steppes, the Aral Steppes, and Western Siberia, ruled over by another son, Juji, and his descendants.

Turkic in feeling and in culture as were Jagatai and his line, they were succeeded in 1360 by Timur, a chief of Moghulistan, purely Turkic in blood as in sympathies, who founded the brilliant Timurid dynasty.[2] 'The annals of this house were rendered illustrious by the names of poets, philosophers, and theologians which are still household words throughout the East.'[3] Among its famous members was the great general, philosopher, and writer Mirza Baber, whose Memoirs still remain as a monument in the Jagatai language.[4]

[1] Radloff, *Concerning the Uigur*, p. 1.

[2] L. Cahun (*op. cit.*) takes Timur to be a descendant of Jagatai.

[3] Skrine and Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[4] See p. 27.

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The splendour of the Timurids was checked by the advance of the Kaizak-Usbegs at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. These brought new blood, partly Turanian, partly Mongol, into a region which was becoming Iranized. The Usbegs, who claimed descent from Jinghis Khan through his son Juji, appeared in Transoxania about the time when the Turko-Tatars were losing their dominion over Muscovite Russia, forming, as it were, a returning wave of Turks, whose three hundred years of mastery in Eastern Europe proved a failure, in that they neither entirely subdued their Russian foes, nor entirely assimilated themselves with them.

The history of the Usbegs in Transoxania is the history of three separate Khanates, those of Bokhara, Khiva, and Kokand, for the Usbeg conquerors were never strong enough to form an empire equal to that of the Timurids or of Jinghis Khan, or perhaps had not enough of the spirit of unity and the power of organization so strongly developed among the Timurids to achieve such a task.

The Turks of the Altai and Western Siberia, who had succumbed to the power of Jinghis Khan after but slight resistance, became independent after the fall of the Golden Horde. Their western branch started an independent state along the River Ishim. In the middle of the fourteenth century they divided into two, one with its capital at Chingi-Tura (now Tiumien), and later at Isker (Sybir), and the other along the River Ishim. In the fifteenth century Khan Kuchum moved with his Kaizak from the Aral-Caspian steppes and overran both empires, creating a great Siberian Khanate from the Urals to the left tributaries of the Ob. In 1583 his capital Isker fell into the hands of the Cossacks under Yermak.

Another Turkic state, which had also become independent after the death of Jinghis Khan, offered more resistance to the Russians than did the Khanate of Kuchum. This was a state of the Kirghis, or rather a confederacy of four states,[1] including among its *kyshtymy* (subjects, slaves) many Finnic and Samoyedic peoples.

Very little is heard of the Kirghis from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. They appear again in the fifteenth century at the time of the fall of the Jagatai dynasty, when it is recorded that the Kaizak population was enlarged by new additions from the Kangli and Kipchak tribes. In the seventeenth century the Kirghis, emancipated from the rule of the Jagatai, were employing the Kaizak in their fights against the Mongol Kalmuck. It was probably then that the Kirghis and the Kaizak began to intermix, and as the result of this struggle with the Kalmuck part of the Kirghis and the Kaizak migrated to Ferghana.

At the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries the Kirghis state on the Yenisei, though its position was not to be compared with what it was in the most flourishing period from the seventh to the tenth centuries, still carried on the tradition of the old Khakas, and was an agricultural state, highly organized politically, if not strong in a military sense. The first Russians to invade the Kirghis state in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, namely the Cossacks from Tomsk, made a distinction between these Kirghis

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[1] The four states were Altir, Altisar, Isar, and Tuba or Tubiu. (N. N. Kosmin, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–21. See also *Historical Documents*, published by the Imperial Archaeological Commission.)

175 and the Kaizak whom they came across in their conquest of the Kuchum Khanate.[1] It was only subsequently that the Kaizak were named by the Russians Kirghis-Kaizak, and that the Kirghis of Yenisei, after their migration southwards before the Russian advance, became known as the Burut-Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis.

Fourth Period. The fourth and last epoch in the history of the Turks in Central Asia begins with the Russian conquest of a more regular character than the exploits of the Volga Cossacks. In the north it began with the foundation of Tomsk (1604) on land wrung from the Kuchum Khanate, and it ended in 1647 with the foundation of Okhotsk on the Pacific. In the south the first milestone of the Russian advance was the destruction of the Khanate of Kazan in 1552; the Khanate of Astrakhan shared its fate in 1556. For a moment the Russian success was checked by the rising of the Yaik Cossacks, to whose efforts the previous advance was largely due. After the suppression of their rising these Cossacks, renamed the Ural Cossacks, again became a Russian weapon, moving against the Kaizak and the Turkic tribes of the steppes. Although the Kaizak were nominally subjugated in 1734 they were not really conquered until Russia became master of Turkestan, and there was a great rising against Russia in 1840, when Kenissari, the Sultan of the Great Orda, made another attempt to unite the Kaizak into one great independent nation. In 1864 the Russians succeeded in encircling the Kaizak territories with a line of military defences, thus cutting them

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[1] See M. A. Czaplicka, 'The Evolution of the Cossack Communities', *J. Centr. As. S.*, May, 1918.

off from the other Central Asiatic powers, just as in 175
the eighteenth century they succeeded in encircling the Finno-Turkic nation of the Bashkir between the Volga and the Urals.

The first Turkic intellectual centre to fall into Russian hands was Tashkent in 1865, and three years later the capital of the Iranian Turks, Samarkand (known to the Greeks as Marakanda, and captured by Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C.), lost its independence. This decided the fate of Bokhara, which became a dependent state, and a little later, in 1875, Khiva succumbed also. The Khanate of Kokand, conquered in 1875, was renamed the Ferghana Territory. The next tribe to be subdued was the Turkomans, whose courageous and obstinate defence was broken by the fall of Gheok-Tepe in 1881. In 1895 the eastern boundary of Russian territory was fixed at the Pamir.

The Central Asiatic territories were never colonized 636
to the same extent as Siberia, or even the Caspian Steppe country; they might be called dependencies rather than colonies. Economically during the last two decades these provinces have begun to increase their output of cotton, fruit, and other local products, but intellectually the Iranian Turks have vegetated in the antiquated remnants of the Arabo-Persian civilizations, influenced gradually by the slow, heavy progress of Russian culture. The Turanian Turks, in much greater political subjection than the Iranian, and economically entirely dependent on Russian colonization, have kept their primitive culture from spurious elements, either Arabo-Persian or Chinese, but they are, of all the Turks, the most amenable to the influence of Russian peasant life.

Archaeology.

172 Special attention is now being given by scholars to the archaeological remains of Turan, especially to those of Southern Siberia and Northern Mongolia. Although it is only recently that organized investigations have been carried out, they were already known to the early Russian travellers, for some mention of them is made by Witsen, who visited this region in 1692, while the next traveller, Dr. Messerschmidt (1720), speaks of the existence among the Russian settlers of the 'industry' of plundering the old graves for the sake of the iron, bronze and particularly gold objects found in them. The men engaged in this, called *bugrovshchiki*, would organize parties of between two and three hundred, and start on their expedition in the 'season of the hunter', i. e. in the spring, and return with their plunder in the autumn, living during the winter on the proceeds.

The fame of this old metal-work reached Peter the Great—the same emperor who, as the legend runs, used to summon Siberian shamans to his court. He issued a Ukaz prohibiting plundering, and ordered the local officials to purchase such objects. Though a certain number of them have thus been saved for European museums, plundering had not ceased even in the summer of 1915, when the author saw old bronze and iron in common use among the Russian settlers.

The early travellers give merely descriptive accounts, and archaeological investigations did not begin until the nineteenth century. Among those whose energies have been thus employed are such earnest workers as Radloff, Aspelin, Klements, Yadrintseff, Adrianoff, Tallgren, and Grānö.

To pass now to a short review of these antiquities. Though they consist chiefly of metal cultures, some mention must be made of the pre-metal remains.

There are remnants of Stone Age stations along the southern Yenisei and its tributaries, between Krasnoyarsk and Minusinsk, but nearer to Krasnoyarsk than to Minusinsk. According to Adrianoff[1] they may be ascribed to the Neolithic period, but another Russian scholar, Savyenkoff, would place them in the Palaeolithic period.[2] It seems, however, fairly certain that although some of the implements found by Savyenkoff in Bazaikha, on Mount Afontova near Krasnoyarsk, and in other places, may be of Palaeolithic type (according to the catalogue of the Peter the Great Museum in Petrograd they are of Mousterian and Aurignacian types), the stations are more accurately described as Neolithic. Many of them might be called kitchen-middens. In any case the Stone Age remains lie outside the scope of this essay, though stone implements have been found together with the bronze, copper, and gold objects of the succeeding age, and even with objects of the Iron Age.

Burial-mounds, called kurgans, are spread in hundreds and thousands from the River Irtish to the River Orkhon. Judging from the objects found in these kurgans they belong either to the Bronze or to the Iron Age. Connected with the kurgans are the stone figures called by the Russians *baby* (sing. *baba*), and by the Turkic natives *koyotash*, and also the stone memorial tablets covered with inscriptions in the Old Turkic language, called Uigur, many of which have now been deciphered. Independently of these inscriptions, there are on the cliffs and rocks of this region traces of pictographic writings, so far uninterpreted.[1] Russian investigators call the Old Turkic characters 'runic inscriptions', and the pictographs *pisanitsy*. In addition to all this, there are remnants of irrigation canals, copper-mines, and fortresses, these last called by the natives *shibe*.

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[1] A. V. Adrianoff, *Sketches of the Minusinsk Country*, 1904.

[2] I. T. Savyenkoff, *The Stone Age in the Minusinsk Country*, 1896, and *The Palaeolithic Epoch in the Neighbourhood of Krasnoyarsk*, 1892.

Generally speaking, all these antiquities of the Metal Ages, known by the Russians under the vague appellations of 'Chud' or 'Tuba' remains, fall into two groups:

1. Remains of the Bronze Age, including copper and gold objects, the burial masks, the remnants of mines, and some of the pictographs.
2. Remains of the Iron Age, with which must be reckoned the stone memorial tablets with inscriptions, the stone figures, and the remnants of fortresses.

The Bronze Age of this region is divided by Tallgren[2] into the following periods:

I. Period dating (possibly from about 3000 B.C.) to 1000 B.C. No kurgans of this period are yet known. Chief implements: daggers, light

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[1] N. S. Voronyeis, 'Rock Pictures found on the frontier of Turgai and Syr Daria Territories along the River Lack-Pay', *Russ. Anthr. J.*, 1916, Nos. iii and iv, pp. 57-61; A. V. Adrianoff, 'Preliminary Information regarding the Pisanitsy collected in the Minusinsk Country in summer 1907', *Bull. Russ. Committee*, 1908, No. viii, p. 37.

[2] A. M. Tallgren, *Collection Tovostine*, Helsingfors, 1917, p. 20.

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spears, and socketed celts. Ornament purely geometric.

II. Period dating between 1000 and 500 B.C. No kurgans of this period are yet known. Chief implements: socketed double-looped celts, daggers, knives in great number. Ornament partly geometric, partly zoomorphic. Figures of animals as handles of daggers.

III. Period after 500 B.C. Kurgans, or burial-places surrounded by quadrangular stones. Ornament chiefly zoomorphic; towards the end of the period vegetable ornament appears. Contact with Scythian art is strongly noticeable.

The majority of the bronze objects found in this region belong to the third period. Here also must be placed the collection of knives of various shapes almost unknown in Scythia. A common type is a knife with a well-formed ring at the end, recalling the Chinese knife which degenerated into the round copper 'cash', but to the same period belongs a type of dagger with a heart-shaped guard, reminiscent of the Scythic dagger of Eastern Europe.

As far as the Iron Age is concerned, its place is usually defined by the dates of the historical events mentioned in the inscriptions. The greater number of the graves of this period are estimated to belong to the time between the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. But the Iron Age must have started much earlier, as we know from the Chinese histories that in the second century B.C. the Hiung-nu, then living to the north of the Chinese, were using iron implements.[1] Judging from the forms of the implements, the early Iron Age

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[1] A. V. Adrianoff, *Sketches of the Minusinsk Country*, p. 5.

172 of this region seems to be a continuation of the Bronze Age in another material. It is only in the late Iron period that new forms appear,[1] and hence it is probable that while the early Iron was evolved by the people responsible for the Bronze culture, the late Iron culture may have been brought by some new-comers, possibly, though not necessarily, of another race.

The honour of having first deciphered the Old Turkic inscriptions belongs to the Danish scholar Professor Vilhelm Thomsen, of Copenhagen,[2] working in 1893, and the investigation was continued by Professor Wilhelm Radloff of Petrograd[3] from 1894 onwards.

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2/2 The Yenisei inscriptions are chiefly funeral tributes to deceased Khans or *Khagans* of the 'Kyrgys' (Kirghis); those of the River Orkhon in North-West Mongolia, which, judging from the more finished form of the writing, are of later date, contain historical and ethnographical information, and are ascribed to the Tu-kiu. Thus our knowledge of the Turanian Turks, which has been obtained by analysing the often confusing annals

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[1] W. W. Radloff, 'Siberian Antiquities', *Materials for the Archaeology of Russia*, St. Petersburg, 1888, 1891, 1894, 1902; *Aus Sibirien*, vol. II, chap. vii; F. R. Martin, *L'Âge du bronze au musée de Minoussinsk*, Stockholm, 1893; D. A. Klements, *Antiquities of the Minusinsk Museum. The Remains of the Metal Ages*, Tomsk, 1886; I. P. Kuznietsoff-Krasnoyarski, *The Minusinsk Antiquities, Copper, Bronze, and Transitional Periods*, Tomsk, 1908; J. R. Aspelin, *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien*, Helsingfors, 1877.

[2] *Inscriptions de l'Iénissei recueillies et publiées par la Société Finlandaise d'Archéologie*, 1889; *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon recueillies par l'expédition finnoise 1890 et publiées par la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, 1892; V. Thomsen, 'Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées', *Mém. Soc. Fin.-Ougr.*, V; N. Yadrintseff, *Ancient Monuments and Inscriptions in Siberia*, Literary Collection, 1885.

[3] W. W. Radloff, P. Melioranski, &c., *Collection of Documents of the Orkhon Expedition*, 1897.

of Chinese historians, has been amplified, and difficult 172
points to some extent cleared up, by the interpretation 212
of these inscriptions.

The older type of inscriptions is engraved; the later type is written on the stone, in some cases even in colours, but the art of using colours was apparently introduced by the Mongols and the Chinese. The Orkhon inscriptions are bilingual, the second language being Chinese.

The richest collections of objects of both Bronze and 172
Iron cultures are to be found in the Minusinsk Museum, 217
and in the Petrograd and Moscow Museums. Next to these come the Museums of Tomsk and Krasnoyarsk. The beginning of the excavation of the kurgans dates from about 1881; among the last thorough investigations are those of A. M. Tallgren (1915) in the Minusinsk region, and of A. V. Adrianoff in the Uriankhai country.

Several attempts have been made to classify the various types of kurgans. Radloff[1] distinguishes as many as ten types; these, however, are not sufficiently clearly differentiated to admit of their being referred to ten distinct cultures. A broader division, based on the more apparent external differences between them, is into two groups. The graves of the first group have their surface level with the surface of the ground, and are surrounded by quadrangular stone slabs. They are usually associated with the Bronze culture, and the implements they contain are such as would be characteristic of a more or less settled population. The graves of the second group are covered with a raised mound, and are often surrounded by high slabs of stone resembling monoliths, which sometimes reach a height of ten feet. These graves are usually associated with the Iron Age, and contain a large number of weapons of war. To the former type may be added the large mounds, called by the local natives *Chaa-tas*, which are collective graves, but usually contain one grave situated a little apart from the others, and showing much more finished workmanship. Graves of the first type are found especially on the banks of the upper Yenisei, and in the Abakan and Minusinsk Steppes. Graves of the second type occur in the basins of the Irtish and the Tobol, and also side by side with those of the first type in the Abakan and Minusinsk Steppes, so that the classification cannot be pressed too far. Until further investigations provide sufficient ground for making a more detailed division, Tallgren, following Castrén and Aspelin, proposes to keep to this dual grouping.[1]

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[1] W. W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, vol. II, pp. 68-143.

It is not possible in this essay to go into further details with regard to the archaeology of this region, but, accepting the conclusions of the archaeologists, an endeavour will be made to trace the course of culture contact during the Bronze and Iron Ages, beginning with a consideration of the question how far the Siberian culture can be compared with similar cultures of corresponding periods elsewhere.

As we know, the kurgans of the later, i.e. the Iron Period, are not confined to these regions, but stretch all along Southern and Central Russia, Lithuania, and Poland, as far as the Vistula. Yet the kurgans of the Irtish-Orkhon region have their own characteristic features, which permit of their being treated separately.

As to the other centres of the Bronze culture, the Kama-Ural centre is sometimes considered to be the prolongation of the Minusinsk centre. But Tallgren, after comparing the objects found in both regions, comes to the conclusion that the two groups are quite independent, and that what features they have in common are due to the fact that they were both influenced by the same civilization from the south and west.[1] E. H. Minns lays stress on the resemblance between the Bronze culture of Minusinsk and that of the Scythians.[2] While agreeing with Minns that the resemblance is considerable, Tallgren sees also a great difference, namely, that the Iranian influence coming from Turkestan at that time was stronger in Turan than in Scythia. In any case it is not the Scythian bronze that influenced the Minusinsk bronze, but rather the reverse.[3]

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[1] Tallgren, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

Just as the late Professor Donner looked upon the region of the ancient Sogdia, Bactris, and Iran as possibly hiding the earliest form of the Yenisei inscriptions, Tallgren looks upon it as the place where the Bronze culture of Minusinsk originated. From this archaeological evidence it would seem that the people of Turan took their knowledge of bronze-working from

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[1] Tallgren, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[2] Ellis H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 241: 'The resemblances between the culture I have called Scythic and that of the early inhabitants of Siberia . . . are so great that it is impossible to treat the archaeology of South Russia without touching that of Siberia.' Thus Minns approaches the question of the Siberian remains from the study of Scythic remains, while Tallgren adopts the opposite method of taking the Minusinsk culture as the standard and comparing the other with it. This is the method that I have tried to follow in ethnographical questions, for it is always safer to define the Asiats in Asia before attempting to define the Asiats who invaded Europe. Recently a book appeared (J. Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*, Leipzig, 1917) which on its purely archaeological merit deserves to be placed next to Tallgren's and Minns's valuable contributions, but the tendency of the author is strikingly Pan-German, and this prevents him from confining the subject within its proper geographical limits.

[3] Tallgren, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

Iranian Turkestan, and developed it themselves. The Chinese influence, which was so powerful in the Iron Age, is not so noticeable in the Bronze Age. Thus, for instance, zinc, which enters into the composition of the bronze implements of Minusinsk,[1] does not occur in the bronze of China.[2] One of the most remarkable resemblances emphasized by Tallgren is that between the Minusinsk bronze and the products of the La Tène Celtic civilization. This is especially significant in the decorative motives, such as the geometrical patterns and the form of the handles of daggers.[3]

A few words must be said about the attempts at the representation of human figures in this old culture of the Minusinsk region. While geometric, zoomorphic, and, later on, plant ornament reaches a high stage of development, representations of the human form are rare and obscure. In the Bronze Age we find scarcely any. One of the few which were found forms the handle of a knife, and recalls a human figure now in the collection of the British Museum. Perhaps the most successful attempts at giving an idea of the human face are the burial masks found in some kurgany associated with the late Bronze Age, especially the gypsum casts.

Even during the Iron Age little progress is made in this form of ornamentation, but from this era onwards we have numerous stone figures, whose object is probably the same as that of the masks of the earlier period, namely, to picture the dead person. The figures, some 172 of which reach a height of three to four feet, are made of rude stone blocks, and almost all of them are characterized by the curious position of the hands, clasping in front a cup, or cup-like object. While the general appearance of the figure is highly conventionalized, the faces differ greatly. They are of both sexes; in fact the female sex predominates. Only some of them show Mongolian traits. Stone figures of similar appearance are found in Southern Russia, where they coincide with the belt known for its Scythic remains. These, however, are of much later date, since we know that some of the Turkic tribes who invaded Russia before the time of Jinghis Khan, such, for instance, as the Polovtsy (Cumans), were in the habit of erecting such figures.[1] Though the custom of placing a small wooden 172 figure of the deceased on the grave is known to many 764 Turkic and Finnic tribes in Siberia, these old stones are taken by the modern natives for images of gods, and sacrifices are often offered to them.

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[1] H. Struwe, 'Analyse verschiedener antiken Bronzen und Eisen aus Abakan und Jenissei', *Bull. I. A. S.*, St. Petersburg, 1866, X, pp. 282-9; Brandenburg and Ivanowski, *Transactions of the Commission for the Chemical Technical Analysis of Ancient Bronze*, St. Petersburg, 1882.

[2] Tallgren, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

The burial masks have, so far as is known at present, a very limited distribution. They have been found on Tagara Island quite close to Minusinsk, and at a spot about sixty versts to the south-east (Salt Lake).[2] Altogether not more than twenty masks are known from this region. But some have been found also in the Graeco-Scythic tombs of the Crimea at Glinishche. The masks are either white or coloured, and are found associated with the skull, or, in cases where the

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[1] Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

[2] K. I. Goroshchenko, 'Burial masks of gypsum and a special type of trepanation in the Kurgans of the Minusinsk District', *Bull. of Tenth Arch. Congress in Riga*, 1896, p. 4.

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skull is missing, separately on a specially erected stone slab. In some cases it seems likely that the masks had been broken or partially burnt, together with other objects belonging to the dead person. In one kurgan at Salt Lake we find, besides the plaster covering the skull, clay and gypsum covering the first five vertebrae also; in this case the mask has not been taken from the face of the deceased, but covers the skull on a foundation of clay moulded to imitate the features. Thus we have to deal with two types of mask in this region. One is a plaster cast of gypsum, taken from the face of the deceased by the modern method of making a mould and taking a cast from it. Such masks are typical of the kurgans of Tagara Island, and are associated with the custom of burning the body and burying the ashes, or of burying the whole corpse in a standing position. The ashes are often buried alongside of the skull and the mask, and obviously the mask must have been taken immediately after death.

The other type, found in the kurgans called *Chaa-tas*, or communal kurgans, near the Salt Lake, is, properly speaking, not a mask but an artificial reconstruction of the face of the deceased superimposed upon the skeleton. This type is connected with the custom of burying the skeleton in a standing position,[1] and it must be supposed, therefore, that after death the corpse was left either outside the kurgan or in a temporary grave until the flesh had completely disappeared from the bones.[2] And indeed this custom corresponds to what we know from Chinese and Greek writers about the burial customs of the old Turks. 'If a man die in spring or summer they wait for the leaves to fall,

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[1] Goroshchenko, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

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if in autumn or winter they wait for leaves and flowers to come out. Then they dig a ditch and bury him.'[1] In fact, in the difficult task of disentangling the Hiung-nu (Turks) and the Tung-hu (Tungus) tribes in the Chinese annals, one of the safest guides is the burial customs of these peoples, since the Tung-hu buried their dead, as they do sometimes now, on a high platform, while the Hiung-nu left the body in the tent or outside the tent for a long time. To this custom is due the fact that so few kurgans include the complete skeleton. The frequent absence of the skull, where the mask replaces it, may, however, be explained by the custom of keeping the skull among the living as a memento.

Moreover, the fact that some of the skulls found in the same communal kurgans have undergone posthumous trepanning in the region of the temple suggests that the skull was not left for the flesh on it to decay naturally, but that artificial means were employed to prepare it for the final burial ceremony. After the skull had been thus cleaned of all its soft tissues, all the openings were plugged with clay, and then the features of the face were reconstructed. In most cases a layer of clay covers the calvaria also. Sometimes a coating of gypsum is put on the top of the clay.

The artificial method of cleaning the skull and then reconstructing the features, so well known among various primitives of Melanesia and, as has been pointed out to me by Mr. Henry Balfour, also of Mexico, might very well be taken for the genuine custom of the aborigines of the country, which were doubtless of Turkic race, while the more refined

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[1] Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

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gypsum casts may have been introduced by the people who brought the Bronze culture to this region. In support of the first part of this statement it is worthy of mention that Father Bichurin, whose translations of the Chinese annals have been made use of extensively in this investigation, says that a people living in Southern Mongolia, and possibly contemporary with the construction of these kurgans, had the custom of 'tearing off the skin from the dead', which seems to be a direct reference to this second mode of burial as being prevalent in Central Asia.[1]

Goroshchenko, the Siberian anthropologist to whose thorough study of the osteology of the kurgans the author is indebted, thinks that the masks of the Chaa-tas type developed out of the casts of the Tagara type. But if we consider the archaeological remains there seems to be very little to show the difference in age between these two groups of kurgans, both of them differing from other Bronze Age kurgans in this, that they include both bronze and iron implements.[2] They should therefore be ascribed to the late Bronze Age type.

There is no doubt that the clear and refined features of the masks of the Tagara type, some of which can be seen in the Helsingfors and Moscow Museums, approach the 'Aryan' type—to retain this unsatisfactory but convenient term—while the masks of the Chaa-tas, with broader face and coarse features, approach the Mongolian type. But it is possible that the difference is merely superficial, and is explained by the different

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[1] Father Jakinth Bichurin, *Collection of Information concerning Peoples living in Central Asia*, vol. III, pp. 197-9.

[2] K. I. Goroshchenko, *Skulls from the Kurgans of the Minusinsk District*, 1900, pp. 8-9.

method of construction. The face as reconstructed on 172
a skull would naturally be coarser than the mask taken 764
from a face, unless of course the constructor were a master more skilled in the moulding of human features than was the man of the Bronze Age of Minusinsk.

It is noteworthy that the craniometric measurements 141
of skulls found in these kurgans do not give us evidence 172
to support the theory of two distinct physical races. The results of these measurements are summed up by Goroshchenko as follows:[1] that the type of these skulls shows great uniformity with that of other Bronze Age skulls, that they resemble the skulls of the older kurgans of the Moscow Government, and that they do not correspond with any measurements of skulls on living people of the modern population of this region, whether Mongol or Turk. The most striking feature of these skulls is their long-headedness. Out of 96 skulls of the kurgans of the Minusinsk region, 42 were dolichocephalic and 21 sub-dolichocephalic.[2]

This brings us to this most unsettled problem: the 000
definition of the physique of the Turks of Central Asia.

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[1] Goroshchenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 30. The measurements of the male skulls of the two groups of kurgans where the masks were found give the following result (Table II):

	Cephalic Index.	
Tagara Kurgans	74.6	(16 measurements)
Chaa-tas	73.2	(13 „)
	Horizontal Circumference.	
Tagara Kurgans	522	(18 measurements)
Chaa-tas	527	(14 „)
	Altitudinal (Height) Index.	
Tagara Kurgans	76	(6 measurements)
Chaa-tas	72.5	(10 „)

As has been said in dealing with the history and archaeology,[1] the mention of fair-haired and blue-eyed people[1] leads us to the conclusion that this type must have entered into the composition of the modern Turk of Central Asia. Besides, nothing else was to be expected in the region of Altai and Sayan, considering how close this region is to the Amu-Daria (Oxus) and Tarim valleys, where it is fairly certain that the brachycephalic Alpine type of Western Europe originated. Whoever studies the altogether insufficient anthropometric data of Central Asia must necessarily wonder with Joyce 'whether indeed the race is not the result of an admixture in varying proportion, according to locality, of Aryan and Mongol stocks'.[2] Even if we agree that the Central Asiatic Turks have their individuality historically and ethnologically, this is not necessarily associated with a distinct physical race. And yet, although the amount of research as yet accomplished, and perhaps also the present state of anthropology, is not such as to justify us in speaking of a separate Turkic race or sub-race, there seems to be some national type, or types, which we can distinguish in the Turks when we meet them outside their proper territory. Thus, the Yakut, who have now inhabited the Arctic region for several hundred years, stand out amongst the other Arctic peoples on account of what might be called their Southern type. The admixture of the 'Tatar' blood of Southern Yenisei in the Samoyed of the Ob is also clearly apparent.

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[1] A. V. Adrianoff, *Sketches of the Minusinsk Country*, p. 7; G. E. Grum-Grzymailo, *Description of Travels in Western China*, ch. viii, 1896-7.

[2] T. A. Joyce, 'On the Physical Anthropology of the Oases of Khotan and Keriya', *J. A. I.*, 1903, vol. XXXIII, p. 315.

[1] [see category 116, p.66--Analyst]

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Among the earliest investigators of the anthropology of Central Asia is the well-known Hungarian scholar Ujfalvy.[1] Then there should be mentioned Grenard,[2] Troll,[3] Shishoff,[4] and Goroshchenko.[5] The Russian anthropologist Ivanowski,[6] who is responsible for a compilation containing a greater number of anthropometric data than that of any other living anthropologist, distinguishes what he calls the Central Asiatic anthropological type. He defines its characteristics as [142] follows: dark-coloured hair and eyes, light hair and eyes being exceptional; stature of the majority medium, with a tendency towards high stature among the Kaizak of the Middle Orda, the town Taranchi, and some Sarts; the head is brachycephalic (broad-headed) or hyperbrachycephalic; the nose among the majority is leptorrhine (narrow), broad noses being met with chiefly among the Kaizak of the Middle Orda; the trunk is long and the chest dimensions are medium, with a tendency to very small. Taking this as the standard, we see that the Kara-Kirghis differ from it by being

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[1] C. E. Ujfalvy, *Essai d'une Carte ethnographique de l'Asie centrale; Les Aryens au nord et au sud de l'Hindou Kouch*, 1896; *Expédition scientifique en Russie, Sibérie et dans le Turkestan*, 1878.

[2] F. Grenard, 'Le Turkestan et le Tibet', in *Mission scientifique dans la Haute Asie*, 1890–5; J. L. Dutrueil de Rhins, pt. II.

[3] Troll, 'Individual-Aufnahmen central-asiatischer Eingeborner', *Z. f. E.*, 1890, pt. iii.

[4] A. Shishoff, *The Sarts*, vol. III, Anthropology, 1905.

[5] K. I. Goroshchenko and A. A. Ivanowski, 'The Natives of the Yenisei', *Russ. Anthr. J.*, 1907, Nos. i, ii; K. I. Goroshchenko, 'Materials for the anthropology of Siberia', *Bull. Krasn. S. E. Sib. Sect. I. R. G. S.*, vol. I, No. ii, 1905.

[6] A. A. Ivanowski, *Anthropological Composition of the Population of Russia*, 1904, pp. 207–8; and *Population of the World*, 1911, pp. 391–2.

141 less dark in colouring, taller, with a longer face; the Yakut approach nearer in type to the Mongol-Buriat; while the 'Tatars' of Southern Yenisei stand nearer to the Samoyed.[1] This similarity must naturally be attributed to later admixture.

There are no anthropometric data regarding the various Altaian Turks (namely, the Chern 'Tatars', Kumandints, Teleut, Teles, Altaian Oirot, same as Altai Kalmuck, and the Chu Telengit). We have, however,
142 most valuable observations about their physical type by the late Siberian scholar Yadrintseff. In an essay

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[1] Some of the chief measurements of the Turks of Central Asia, based on the work of Ivanowski (*Population of the World*) and Joyce (*op. cit.*):

	Tribe.	Stature (medium).	Ceph. Ind.	Height Index.	Full-face Index.	Nasal Index.	Authority.
Ivanowski	Taranchi	(374) 1646	(368) 86·4	(107) 74·5	Ivanowski's index is from margin of hair to mental.		Ujf.
	Sarts	(238) 1677	(223) 83·6			(104) 61·5	Blag. Shi. Troll
	Kaizak and Kipchak	(418) 1644	(405) 87·0			(172) 68·9	Tr. Ujf.
	Usbegs	(292) 1675	(262) 86·1			(13) 69·0	Tr. Ujf.
	Kara-Kirghis	(83) 1676	(78) 85·9			(47) 75·9	Tr. Ujf.
	Soyot	(72) 1597		(72) 71·4		(72) 70·2	Goros. Ivan.
	Sagai	(60) 1620	(60) 80·8			(60) 73·0	Goros. Ivan.
	Kachints	(42) 1619	(34) 82·4			(34) 78·0	Goros. Ivan.
	Beltir	(78) 1607	(74) 79·5			(73) 78·0	Goros. Ivan.
Joyce	Khotanese	(19) 1645	(22) 84·4		(23) 87·4	(23) 71·7	Stein
	Keriyans	(15) 1589	(16) 86·9		(16) 82·4	(16) 81·1	Stein

For the measurements of the Yakut see 'Report of the Expedition to the Yenisei', by M. A. Czaplicka and H. U. Hall (to be published shortly).

on the Altaians, published in 1881,[1] he says that many 142
Altaians who have as yet had no contact with the colonists resemble in their type the Caucasians (Aryans). Blue eyes, chestnut and fair hair, and non-prominent cheek-bones are often met with, especially among the Kumandints.[2] And yet no record is known that the 144
Aryans ever spread as far as the Altai Mountains; on the other hand, we know of the close association of the Turkic race with this region. The only plausible suggestion, therefore, is that the prehistoric contact of the Turks and Aryans, which brought the knowledge of bronze to Turan, affected the physical type of the Asiatic Turks just as it affected their nomad life, leading them to settle down to agriculture.

When remains of two archaeological periods are 172
found in one place the popular conclusion is that the later culture was brought to that place by the later comers. For a long time the archaeology of the Minusinsk district was treated in accordance with this rule. The Bronze period of the region was ascribed to some local autochthonous people. They were said to be peaceful, since there are hardly any weapons among the remains of this period. From the abundant remains of implements connected with agriculture and mining they were put down as agriculturists and miners, and finally they were described as democratic, because we find at that time communal graves and graves of common people generally, while in the Iron Age it is mostly the chiefs who enjoyed the privilege of burial in a kurgan. On the other hand, the Iron Age people were supposed

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[1] N. M. Yadrintseff, 'On the Altaians and the Chern Tatars', *Bull. I. R. G. S.*, 1881.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

172 to have been warlike nomads, who left behind them many weapons of war, who lived on their horses, and who were more or less like the nomad Scythians of the Greeks. The Bronze Age people are often set down as Finno-Samoyedic, or vaguely as Palaeo-Yeniseians, while the Iron Age people are set down as Turks. But a closer study of the region shows that the problem is not yet solved, and it may be stated as follows: Were the Bronze Age people quite different from the Iron Age people, and what is the relation of either or both of them to the remnants of the Turanians now living in this region?

The solution of this problem has usually been sought by the historical method of investigation, that is to say, by quoting disconnected facts obtained from free translations of the Chinese writers, who could not, of course, have a very intimate acquaintance with regions so far away. Again, in dealing with the present natives it has usually been linguistic considerations that have been taken as a basis for determining racial affinities.[1] But with all respect to the Chinese annals (which may perhaps one day be given to Europe in a full and authoritative translation), it would seem that as we are now able to read the history of these people from their archaeology and from their own inscriptions, it is possible to adopt an archaeological method, and to compare the results thus obtained with those arrived at by ethnological research. This provides a means of checking the work done by the historical method.

We have no direct information from the Chinese or any other sources as to the Bronze Age people of this

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[1] This has been the case especially since the famous linguistic researches of Castrén some fifty years ago.

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region having been overrun by steppe nomads belonging to the Age of Iron. Archaeological evidence proves that the first period of the Iron Age evolved naturally out of the Age of Bronze, while the fact that the second period of the Iron Age is, as it were, interrupted by a new influx of Iron civilization—possibly owing to an invasion—does not necessarily mean that the invaders were of quite different race; they may have been of the same race but of more pastoral habits, and this may also account for the fact that the invasion escaped the comments of foreign historians. Since it is established that the late Iron Age is to be ascribed to the Turks, and that the early Iron Age does not differ sufficiently from it to warrant the assumption that these two stages of the Iron Age are the product of two different races, it follows that the Bronze Age people may well have been of Turkic, or at least Turkic-Iranian (Turkic-Aryan ?) origin. However, even if we go so far as to assume an association between the Old Turkic race and the Bronze remains, it is necessary at the same time to remember that the knowledge of bronze-working and the types of implements produced were obtained from some centre of 'Aryan' culture, just as the characters of the inscriptions were borrowed from Semitic.

The ability of the old Turks to develop these borrowed arts is surprising, in view of the fact that no later Turks in Central Asia have reached so high a standard of civilization, but the explanation may possibly be that the Turks of that time were freer from Mongolian admixture than they have been since the thirteenth century, and that the 'Aryan' element in Central Asia was, at the time of this old culture, very considerable.

172 In his recent book on the archaeology of this region Tallgren says: 'The people who developed the Bronze Age civilization of the Upper Yenisei might have been Turc or else Indo-European.'[1] He rejects the idea that they may have been some Palaeo-Siberian people of the same stock of the Ostyak of the Yenisei, who still live in this region, since, as he very rightly says, they could only produce 'une civilisation des non-civilisés', and even if it were right to call them autochthones of the country they could never play any part in its history. The author's personal knowledge of these people corroborates Tallgren's opinion.

The forests of Altai have been regarded by many prominent scholars of Siberia[2] as a natural environment for the beginning of settled life. Whether as cattle-breeders, as agriculturists, or as miners and smiths, the Altaians must always have been more settled than the people of the Caspian-Aral steppe. A study of the implements, both ancient and modern, bears out the hypothesis that we have here to do with a continuous sedentary culture. Furthermore, the continuation of the pictographs through both Bronze and Iron Ages points in the same direction, and the *tamga* or tribal (clan ?) marks found on the implements and gravestones of both periods may still be seen at the present day on the reindeer and implements of the modern natives.

But though the passing of the Bronze Age into the Iron Age may have been a process of natural evolution of the same people, this does not exclude the fact that about the middle of the Iron Age some invasion took place, which gave rise to wars, and to a correspondingly great development of implements of war. There is, however, as has been said, no proof that these invaders were of different race from the men of the Bronze and early Iron Ages, but as they came from a steppe environment they may quite well have brought other customs with them. Some fall in the scale of culture may also have occurred as a result of a decrease in, or perhaps entire absence of, contact with the people (probably Aryan) who must have influenced the Yenisei Bronze culture. But though changes there were, they were not fundamental, since the general culture was never destroyed, as it was after the Kalmuck of the Russian conquests.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] N. N. Kosmin, 'Chern', *Sibirskiya Zapiski*, Aug. 1916, No. 3, pp. 95-112; *D. A. Klements and Historical and Ethnographical Research in the Minusinsk Country*; N. M. Yadrintseff, *On the Altaians and the Chern Tatars.*

The Yenisei and Orkhon inscriptions so far known were written at the time when the supposed Turkic invaders were settling in the land they had conquered from the autochthones, but they certainly do not show the spirit of unacclimatized new-comers. The Turks of that time speak of themselves as inhabitants of the forest, not of the steppe. It is the dense forest *yish* (the same as *Chern*, 'black forest') that is constantly referred to in the Orkhon inscriptions.[1] The Orkhon Tu-kiu, when describing their fights with the Kirghis or other Turks, always say that these took place in the *yish*, and that their country, as well as the country of the Kirghis, is the *yish*. Judging from the original names of the rivers flowing in the forest regions of the upper Yenisei, they were all named by the Turks.

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[1] The present Altaian 'Tatars' call themselves 'Tuba', 'Tubalar', or 'Yish-kis'.

103 The Russians who first colonized this country[2] from the north took up the name Yenisei from the Tungus, whom they met first; they came in contact with the Southern Turks only after they had subjugated the Tungus. But even now, in the upper Yenisei region, the Yenisei is known as the Ulu-Kem, which again is formed by the junction of two streams with Turkic names, Bii-Kem (Bei-Kem) and Kha-Kem (Hua-Kem). These names recall the terms for the two chief rivers of the Altai, Biya (Bi) and Katun (Khatun), which were probably also named by the Turks.

172 2/2 The dense forests of this region made communication between various tribes more difficult than it would have been in the open steppe. Hence arose the necessity of making on the bark of trees, or the flat surface of the rock, signs conveying various kinds of information. These signs, called by the Russians *myety*, gave rise to the pictographic writings called *pisanitsy*. Some of them seem to have been a means of conveying tribal information and a chronicle of events, others to have been connected with the religious cult, and these latter are very much like some of the pictures on the modern shaman's drum.[1] Still others may be nothing more than tribal *tamgas*. Great numbers of such engraved or painted pictographs are met with in the forest region of the northern Altai and upper Yenisei, while they are never found in the open steppes, where communication can be carried on much more easily by means of messengers on horseback or by smoke signals, and where chronicles are handed down by word of mouth.

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[1] N. M. Yadrintseff, *The Ancient Monuments and Inscriptions in Siberia*, pp. 456, 476.

[2] [i.e. the region of the Yenisei --- Analyst]

Curiously enough, it is recorded in the old Russian 172
Cossack reports of the seventeenth and eighteenth 212
centuries, made accessible of late years, that the Kirghis, who were then fighting with the Mongolians of Jungaria, tried to communicate with the Cossacks, and to show them tracks through the forest, by means of such pictographic signs.[1]

In comparing the life of the old inhabitants of this 172
region with that of the modern population it is natural 342
to begin by considering the form of their dwellings. Unfortunately there are no indications as to the type of habitation of the people of the Bronze or the Iron Ages. The region furnishes, however, such a collection of various types of dwelling, that it is not fanciful to assume a long evolutionary development. First there is the very primitive tent, *suyulta*, or *alenchek* if covered with birch bark. Then there are quadrangular wooden dwellings called *aida*, still without windows. Next come wooden structures covered with earth, and provided with a window. These are called *kuzenek*, and in them a clay stove, *chuval*, has already replaced the smoke-hole of the more primitive types. There is an elaborated form, called *spa*, in which the whole structure is raised higher from the ground, and given a hexagonal shape, with a sloping roof. Within, it has a kind of small vestibule. The tent also has its line of development, for the use of such of the population as devote their attention to cattle-breeding, and hence are seasonal

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[1] *Memoirs of Siberian History, Seventeenth Century*, vol. I, No. 58. N. N. Kosmin, in one of his recent journeys in the Amyl Taiga of the Minusinsk country, records that his Tatar guide, on striking camp left behind a notched stick, the notches on which indicated: 'Five of us slept here one night and went away in two boats' (N. N. Kosmin, *Chern*, p. 99).

172 342 nomads. This, in its most elaborate form, is spherical, and resembles to some extent the so-called Kirghis, or properly speaking Kaizak, tent, from which, however, it differs in having a conical top instead of being built round a circular frame. There also exist hexagonal, octagonal, and polygonal varieties. These are usually covered with felt, and are called *yurta*.[1]

137 262 As regards the botanical environment, more data are available for comparison. There are certain forest plants, very plentiful in the Altai and Sayan Mountains, whose roots are much esteemed as food by the modern Turks, as they seem to have been by the ancient. Among them are *sarana* (*Lilium Martagon*), *kandyk* (*Erithronium dens canis*), and *cheremsha* (*Allium ursinum*). So characteristic are these roots as articles of food among the present-day Turks that the names for the different times of the year are taken from the plants that are then in season. Thus Bes-ai is 'the month of *kandyk*' (May), and Ak-sep-ai is 'the month of *sarana*' (June).

172 241 The agriculture carried on in the clearings of the forest was in the olden days similar to what it was at the time when the Russians first occupied the country. Barley seems to have been the chief product. On spots where the cattle have been pastured for some time the modern Altaians grow hemp. The vegetable ornament found in the late Bronze Age, and in abundance in the Iron Age, proves that the ancient inhabitants knew and used the same plants as are utilized by the present natives.

Among the agricultural implements found in the

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[1] N. M. Yadrintseff, *On the Altaians and the Chern Tatars*, p. 8.

kurgans are some which are in use up to the present 172
time among the Tatars. Such are the *osyp*, a kind of 241
hoe used for digging up roots, and the *obyl*, a kind of primitive plough, which, if it has shafts, is called *andazyn*. Instead of a harrow they now use the trunk of a small tree with stumps of the branches left projecting. Many of the present Tatars, for instance those along the River Chu, reap their corn by tearing it off in handfuls; only in some places is a knife with a curved handle used for this purpose. No threshing implement occurs either in the graves or among the present inhabitants, but possibly in the olden days, as in some places up to modern times, there existed the practice of singeing the straw in order to dry it, when the grain can be separated by stirring it with a stick. There are not found, either in the graves or among the Southern Altaians, the typical mill-stones which are used by the Chern Tatars, but flat slabs of stone are met with between which the grain is rubbed. The remains of the irrigation canals, called *aryk*, show that they were more elaborate in the Bronze and Iron periods than their modern substitutes, sometimes called *sugak*. It is not known in what way land was fertilized in the olden days, but at the time of the arrival of the Russians, and to a certain extent until now, the natives chose old camping sites on which to sow their grain.[1]

While some Turkic tribes, for instance the Kaizak, 172
even now do not trouble to lay up winter stores for 246
their cattle, the Altaians twist up straw into rolls, and store it in that way, which is also convenient for carrying.[2] Among the forest Tatars hay is prepared

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[1] Yadrintseff, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[2] *Ibid.*

172 246 by being hung in bundles from the branches of trees.[1]

172 As for the animal world, there is a record that the Cossack Ataman Vasili Tumenets,[2] who passed through the land of Tuba on his way to Mongolia in 1616, found these people in possession of horses and reindeer, but without cattle or sheep. It is interesting to note that in all the archaeological remains both of the Iron and of the Bronze periods, a great many different species of deer are represented. Among the present Turkic tribes the deer, *syn*, is still the most popular animal. The horse and the goat are also favourite motives in the bronze zoomorphic ornament, and the mountain eagle and the swan are the most frequently represented birds. All this seems to prove that the metal-workers must have lived in the same environment as the modern inhabitants. But we find in the Bronze Age also representations of animals not known to frequent the upper Yenisei, such as the dromedary and the donkey.[3] This would point to Southern influence, or at least to contact with a Southern people during the Bronze Age.

Thus it becomes clear that the people who were responsible for the early pictographs, and possibly for the bronze implements, as well as the people responsible for the Uigur inscriptions and the iron implements, are connected with the present remnants of the local Turkic population in the way in which they reacted to their botanical and zoological environment. No such similarity can be traced between the ancient inhabitants and other sections of the modern population such as the Ostyak or the Samoyed. 172

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[1] N. N. Kosmin, *Chern*, p. 98.

[2] A. V. Adrianoff, *Sketches of the Minusinsk Country*, 1904, p. 5.

[3] Kosmin, *ibid.*

Finally, it is curious that among the many primitive races of Northern and Central Asia only two tribes have a reputation as iron-workers, the Yakut and the Kuznietsk 'Tatars'—from *kuzniets* (Russian), 'smith'. At the time of the Russian conquest the latter were paying tribute to China with iron implements of their own manufacture. It seems impossible to dissociate these people, whose original home was in the region of the Iron Age remains, from the ancient iron-workers. Of course, it is more difficult to trace their ancestry further back, though there is no evidence to prove that the Bronze Age people were of a different race from the people of the Iron Age. 326

The presence of rich mineral deposits in the country of the old Turks gave rise to an extensive mining industry, the high value of which, added to the richness of the animal and vegetable world, made the population of the *yish* self-satisfied, and disinclined to leave their lands. The Orkhon inscriptions contain many allusions to 'the benevolent earth and waters of the Turks', and unfriendly comments on the people who migrate from the forests and mountains to the open plain, take up Chinese trade, and develop the war instinct. I will allow myself to quote one of the most instructive passages of the Orkhon inscriptions. The author addresses his tribesmen: 'Whence came your lust for warfare? Ye went away, ye people of Utukan Yish, some to the west and some to the east, but all that ye found there, in the place to which ye came, amounts to this, that your blood was shed like water, and your bones heaped up in mountains; your strong sons are 172

172 now serfs, and your clean daughters are fallen into slavery.'[1] Surely this quotation does not bear out the idea cherished by some scholars, that the Turanian Turks, at the time when they enter history, were very similar to the Mongols, that is, were warlike nomads of the steppes. Such a description would to a great extent be applicable to the border population of the Kirghis, the nomadic Kaizak. But to judge the old Turks by the Kaizak would be equivalent to estimating the culture of modern Russia by that of the European Kaizaks or Cossacks.

Even if we find among some Turkic tribes of the present day a tradition of their having been originally steppe nomads, this notion may be classified with another fictitious Turkic tradition, namely, that which provides them with a descent from the Mongol Jinghis Khan.

Some Conclusions.

144 From this review of the archaeological, historical, and ethnological evidence, it seems obvious that the Turanian Turks may be considered to be a remnant of the old Turkic race which has passed through various changes in Central Asia, having been originally known as Hiung-nu. The Turks, who are here called Iranian, have lost to a much greater extent than the Turanians the line of genealogical continuity with the Hiung-nu, or even the Tu-kiu. Still more is this the case with those Turks who have passed through several more 'racial filtrations' and environmental influences, namely, the Azerbeijan and the Osmanly Turks. In fact, were it not for their Turkic language, the Osmanly would have to be classified among the

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[1] Kosmin, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

Europeans 'by adoption', like the Hungarians or the Bulgarians. 144

It is not the author's aim to append a political moral to a work whose object is to show the unscientific character of one of those high-sounding terms that begin with 'Pan-'. To wish for conquest and expansion is one thing; to claim a land on grounds of ethnical and traditional continuity is quite another. Linguistic relationship has often been used—and abused—as a plea for subjugating a weaker race to a stronger. The fact remains, however, that if there is no other community than a distant relationship in language, there need be no community of interest at all. Of course, the Turkic people of Central Asia, who, though numerous, are divided into small nations, may be at the mercy of a stronger invader; and, should the course of this war or of the Russian Revolution bring about such a situation, they may be subdued to such a power in a political way. But to speak of the Osmanlis and the Turanian Turks as a racial and cultural unity would be by a stroke of the pen, or by means of a propagandist pamphlet, to wipe away all the invasions, migrations, massacres, and fusions which for twenty centuries have played havoc with that part of the world. 000

It is now clear that Asia cannot in the future be artificially divided from her peninsula Europe, and that she will rapidly return to conditions similar to those which existed before our era, when the White and Yellow races met on the heights of Turan. Of course, the plan for a 'Middle-Asia' involves fewer practical difficulties than that for a 'Mittel-Europa', in so far as the national consciousness of the Central Asiatic Turks is weaker than that of the Central European

000 neighbours of Germany. But is it feasible that any single power or any single European culture should have the monopoly of Central Asia? Before such a state of affairs could disturb the balance of Europe, it would surely disturb the balance of the power that made the attempt. For the utmost effort on the part of a highly organized European or Asiatic Government would be needed in order to bring about any permanent unity of feeling throughout that vast continent; and until this consummation is reached no economic advantage can follow either for the aboriginal people or for any others.

Throughout its whole history, except perhaps for a period between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, Central Asia has been the scene of the mingling of various cultural and political influences. The scientific investigations carried on there of late years give an excellent illustration of this. An example is afforded by the monumental explorations of Sir Aurel Stein. Though the explorations themselves were carried on under the British flag, yet in the preparation of the results for publication men of almost every European nationality have been engaged.[1] The archaeological trophies brought home at various times by Sir Aurel Stein are as rich and varied as the influences to which Central Asia has in the course of its history been subjected. Hence no single man, not even a single nation, would be qualified to undertake a thorough digest of this material. And we see here a wonderful collaboration of European scholars: a Dane, Professor Thomsen of Copenhagen; Frenchmen, MM. Chavannes,

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[1] Sylvain Lévi, 'Central Asian Studies', *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 953-64.

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Gauthiot,[1] Pelliot; a Belgian, M. La Vallée Poussin; Germans, Professors von Le Coq and F. W. K. Müller; a Russian, Professor Radloff; and Englishmen, Sir Aurel Stein, Dr. Hoernle, and Dr. Cowley. Will any League of Nations bring about a harmony more complete than this, which has been proved to be possible among scientific men of all nationalities in their work on Central Asia? Could the voice of such unbiased scholars be heard in the Council Chambers of the diplomatists, it might not be too much to hope that the same international collaboration which has proved of such benefit in the sphere of scientific research may likewise become possible in the politics of the future.

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[1] Whose most regrettable death at the Front was announced some time ago.

APPENDIX A

311 WHEN speaking of 'Central Asian riches', it is understood to mean all the natural resources found in what is called Russian Central Asia. In particular, one stretch of land deserves the reputation of possessing a value surpassing all known colonial possessions. This is the part inhabited by various Turkic-speaking people, stretching from the mouth of the Ob on the Arctic, through the forest, agricultural and cattle-breeding regions of Western Siberia, the Steppe country and Turkestan, as far south as the frontiers of Persia.

In commercial value this area represents—rich fishing in the sub-Arctic region; rare fur animals in the forest region; valuable timber, of which in Western Siberia alone some 110 million dessiatins were registered by the Russian Government; rich cornfields, almost half of which are occupied by wheat; steppes swarming with cattle, and lakes abundant in fish; mountains rich in minerals; and finally, the irrigated fields of Turkestan covered with cotton plantations, not to mention such promising industries as butter and eggs, fruit and vegetables.

135 As to the minerals, the 'Golden' or Altai Mountains, as well as the Northern Steppes are equally rich in gold, silver, iron, coal, copper, and almost all known mineral resources. However, in the production of gold it is Eastern Siberia which occupies first place in the Russian Empire (in 1910 it produced 2,828 puds; in 1914, 2,729 puds); the second place belongs to the Ural Mountains (in 1910, 642 puds; in 1914, 299 puds), and Western Siberia stands third (in 1910, 416 puds; in 1914, 133 puds). This can be accounted for chiefly by the lack of enterprise and capital. The chief deposits of gold in Western Siberia are in the following

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districts: 1, Tomsk; 2, Krasnoyarsk-Achinsk; 3, Southern Steppes; 4, Yenisei; 5, Altai; 6, Minusinsk; 7, Northern Steppes. Probably some gold deposits could be found in Bokhara and Turkestan.

The silver deposits are found in great number in the Altai and north of Semipalatinsk. The richest deposits of coal, iron, and copper are found in the district between Novo-Nikolaevsk, Tomsk, Barnaul, and Kuznietsk; also in the region of Semipalatinsk. The Kuznietsk basin alone occupies some 15,000 sq. klm.

The best-known oilfields are situated on the western coast of the Caspian. But it is possible that the Transcaspian oilfields, now almost entirely limited to Chikishliar and some other points along the railway, may prove to be no less abundant. In Ferghana the oilfields are being exploited in four regions: 1, Shar-Su; 2, Maili-Su; 3, Chimionand; 4, Sel-Kokko, but so far the export is fairly limited; in 1914 it amounted to some 2,000,000 puds.

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But it is cereals that form the most important product of export from Western Siberia, and 90 per cent. of the population is devoted to agriculture. Agriculture is found chiefly between 60° of N. lat. and 50° of S. lat. Beyond these limits the country is only half agricultural; while fishing, shooting, and cattle-breeding is carried on alongside. Out of some 12 million dess. occupied by cornfields in Asiatic Russia in 1911, some 4½ millions were situated in Western Siberia, 2½ millions in the Steppe country, and 3½ millions in Turkestan. The chief centres of the corn export are Novo-Nikolaevsk, Omsk, Kurgan, Pyetukhovo, Barnaul, and Semipalatinsk. In 1906–10 average early export = 93,014·4 thousand puds.

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Closely connected with agriculture is sheep-breeding, which is especially carried on in the Kirghis Steppes. While in European Russia at the outbreak of war for a hundred inhabitants there were only 32 sheep, in Russian Central Asia it amounted to some 200. The area of pasture land in Western Siberia amounted to some six million dess.; in the Steppe country some three million, and in Turkestan half

233 a million. Next to sheep in importance is the breeding of [234] horses and cows. In the cattle-breeding area the butter industry is very successfully carried on, especially in the governments of Tomsk and Tobolsk, and the chief centres 439 of its export are Barnaul, Omsk, and Kurgan. In 1913 the exports equalled 4·9 million puds as against 1·7 million puds in 1903. Closely allied to these industries is the export of live stock, bacon, game, wool, hair, skins and furs. But although they occupy a considerable place, it is the corn which comes first in quantity and cotton first in value among all Central Asiatic products. The pre-war export along the railway shows the following proportion between the various goods: Corn, 35·6 per cent. (of all exported goods); cotton, 4·3 per cent.; butter, 1·5 per cent.; fish, 1·2 per cent.; meat, 1·0 per cent.

162 In the production of corn Western Siberian ranks first; 7 per cent. of the native population scarcely take any part in this industry; while out of 93 per cent. of European population, 87 per cent. is composed of Great Russians, on whom agriculture chiefly depends. The cattle- and especially sheep-breeding depend to a great extent on the Kirghis and other Turkic tribes, forming 50 per cent. of the population in the Akmolinsk and 85 per cent. in the Semipalatinsk territories. But it is the cotton industry which almost entirely rests upon the native (Sarts and other Turkic tribes) labour.

312 The cotton industry is closely connected with irrigation, and again the irrigation canals form the most valuable possession of the natives. The canals seem to have been much more numerous in ancient times, and the remnants of them are found even in such barren deserts as Kizyl-Kumakh or Gary-ishek-otran. The native law codes (*shariat* as well as *'ādat*) recognize that the water is common property, which cannot be sold or bought, and that the land belongs to him who irrigates it. To look after the equal use of the irrigation canals, called *aryka*, an elder, called *mirab*, is chosen from among one settlement, and over several *mirabs* an *aryk-*

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aksakala is elected, looking after the whole system of the 312
chief canal. The lands irrigated by the natives in Turkestan (including Transcaspia), Bokhara, and Khiva equal 4,758,000 dess., or 2·6 per cent. of all the area. Since the Russian occupation, many attempts were made at reconstructing some of the ancient canals on modern lines. As the result of this, in the last few years before the war the Murgab canals were accomplished, irrigating some 25,000 dess., and the Romanoff canal, irrigating some 65,000 dess., in the north-eastern part of the Golodnaya ('Hunger') Steppe. A plan for irrigating a further four million dess. has been drafted.

No doubt this energy of the Russian administration was 248
guided by appreciation of the immense value of the cotton industry. In 1913 some 550,000 dess., including the vassal Khanates, was under cotton plantations, realizing about 13½ million puds of cotton fibre (in 1914 some 675,000 dess., realizing some 13·9 million puds). Ferghana, which, it must be remembered, is the best-irrigated province, produced 75 per cent. of all cotton. Next comes the Tashkent district of Syr-Daria territory; the Katta-Kurgan, Khojent, and Samarkand districts of Samarkand territory; and the Merv and Tejent districts of the Transcaspian territory. It is owing to Russian influence that the old Central Asian specie of cotton (*Gossypium herbaceum*, L.) was almost entirely replaced by the American specie (*Gossypium hirsutum*, L.). The cotton plantations form a chief revenue of the Central Asiatic people, and were designated almost entirely for export. At the outbreak of war Russia occupied fifth place in cotton production (after U.S.A., Great Britain, Egypt, and China), and fourth place in cotton manufacture (after Great Britain, U.S.A., and Germany), and only one-fifth of her cotton was grown outside Central Asia (in Transcaucasia).

Other industries which might have a prosperous future are 249
the rice and tobacco plantations and the rearing of silk-worms (at present Turkestan produces about 100,000 puds of dry cocoons per annum).

It has been said that this rich area has no communication 000

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489 It has been said that this rich area has no communication with the world outside, and difficult communications within. It is true that the only sea-outlet is through the mouths of the Ob and the Yenisei; but with the recent re-opening of the Kara Sea route the northern river-ways have a great commercial value. This will especially be the case when, on the completion of the Ob–Arctic Ocean Railway, there will be no necessity to cross the Kara Sea with its dangerous straits.

Within this region the communication is carried on—

491 (*a*) By means of natural roads, of which there are some 109,000 versts in Siberia, and 58,000 versts in Russian Central Asia, not counting the secondary roads.

133 505 (*b*) By means of river-ways, in which especially Western Siberia is very well endowed. The basin of the River Ob alone is navigable for a distance of some 15,000 versts, while some 16,000 more is passable for floating. Turkestan, with its two chief rivers Syr-Daria and Amu-Daria, has much more limited river communications; Amu-Daria is navigable for a distance of some 1,400 versts, but for steam-ships only 800 versts. Syr-Daria could be made navigable for a distance of 1,200 versts, but at present the river is more important for irrigation purposes. The southern rivers are free from ice for about six months in the year, while the rivers north of the Altai Mountains are navigable from three to four months a year.

496 (*c*) The railway is, of course, the most important means of communication, and each new line causes a great industrial and social upheaval in the district. The Trans-Siberian has only a relative value, and much greater importance is attached to the southern line of the Trans-Siberian (Chelyabinsk–Omsk) and the new branches; the Altai (Novo-Nikolaevsk–Biisk–Semipalatinsk) and the Minusinsk (Achinsk–Minusinsk). The Central Asiatic (Krasnovodsk–Andijan), covering 2,368 versts, and the Tashkent Railway (Orenburg–Tashkent), covering some 1,756 versts, unite to some extent Russian Central Asia with Western Siberia. A line between Semipalatinsk and some point on the Tashkent Railway will be of enormous importance for the further development of Western Siberia,

the Steppe country and Inner Turkestan, and would thus help the communications between the northern and southern part of this rich area, which so far is carried on partly by means of river-ways (Ob, Irtish), and chiefly above the old caravan route. Out of two most important old roads in Central Asia, the first one—Orenburg-Tashkent—was utilized for the Tashkent Railway; the second—Tashkent-Semipalatinsk—is awaiting the same fate. It is the most lively route along which the post, the passenger and goods traffic is carried on. It starts at Kabul-Sai (some 120 versts north of Tashkent), and passes through Chimkent, Aulieata, Pishnek, Viernyi, Kopal, and Sergiupol (the latter lies 272 versts south-east of Semipalatinsk). Branches of smaller roads connect this big route with Pjevalsk and Kulja. 496 [491]

The last plan of the old Russian administration was to connect European Russia with Turkestan by a second line parallel to the Tashkent line, i. e. along the River Amu-Daria.

Western Siberia has gained enormous experience during the present war. At the first stage of the war she was the chief storing-place for army supplies. After the Russian retreat many industries from Poland and Western Russia were transferred here owing to the abundance of coal and other cheap raw products in Western Siberia. 000

See:

Statistical Year Book, edited by the Minister of the Interior (Russ. Petrograd, 1910–16). 113

Torgovo-Promyshlennaya Gazeta (Russ. Petrograd, 1910–17).

Asiatic Russia, edited by the Immigration Committee (Russ. St. Petersburg, 1914).

Siberia, by P. M. Golovacheff (Russ. Moscow, 1914).

Economic Geography of Siberia, by P. M. Golovacheff (Russ. Moscow, 1914).

Russian Year Book, edited by N. Peacock (London, 1910–16).

Times Russian Supplement (1914–16).

Department of Customs. Revue of the foreign trade of Russia through her European and Asiatic Frontiers (Russ. St. P., 1912).

Malakhowski, N. Statistics concerning transport of goods on the Central-Asiatic and the Tashkent Railways (Russ. St. P., 1914).

APPENDIX B

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The ambitious plans of the Germans for the conquest of the East had as their first aim the plan of the Berlin–Bagdad railway. When the British successes cut short this plan and Southern Russia became the prey of German influence, the Berlin–Bagdad was put aside by some, in favour of a plan to revive the ancient route through the highlands of Central Asia: Berlin–Bokhara–Pekin. Whatever the ultimate fate of the German activity in the East may be, it has at least served to force the Pan-Turanian question upon the attention of the British public. See articles in *The Round Table*, No. 29, December 1917; in *The Times*, January 3rd, 5th, and 7th, 1918; in *The Quarterly Review*, No. 455, April 1918; in *The Round Table*, No. 31, June 1918; and in *Land and Water*, July 4, 1918.

Meanwhile, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which ceded to Turkey the territories of Ardahan, Batum, and Kars (belonging to Russia since 1877), was the first step towards the realization of the Pan-Turanian dream. The population of the district—Armenians (two millions), Georgians (two millions), Tatars (two millions), and Russians (one million)—refused to recognize the Treaty (see *The New Europe*, July 25, 1918). However, the Caucasian Tatars soon deserted the cause of the 'Transcaucasian Republic' for that of the advancing Osmanly. The Georgian-Armenian forces were defeated, and the country was split into 'independent' Georgia (May 26, 1918) with its capital in Tiflis, 'independent' Armenia, consisting of the Armenian lands round Erivan, and an 'independent' North Azerbeijan, the capital of which, Tabriz, was occupied by the Turks.

This easy success inflamed the desire for conquest of the Turkic militarists. The popular paper of the Committee of Union and Progress, *Tasvir-i-Efkiar*, on April 15 contained the following passage (quoted in *The Cambridge Magazine*, August 24, 1918):

> 'To penetrate in one direction into Egypt, and to open the road to the 300,000,000 (*sic*) of our co-religionists, on

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the other side to advance to Kars and Tiflis, to liberate the Caucasus from Russian barbarism, and to occupy Tabriz and Teheran, to open a road to those Mussulman countries such as Afghanistan and India—this is the task we have assumed. This task, *with the aid of Allah*, with the assistance of our Prophet, and thanks to the union imposed on us by our religion, we will carry through to the end . . .'

It is noteworthy that the Turkish desire for expansion in the East was supported in the Press of opposite political opinions. Thus *Tasvir-i-Efkiar*, *Sabah*, and the Government organ *Tanin* supported it just as much as the papers of the Opposition, *Ikdam* and *Zeman*, though the latter Press was not so particular as to whether they would use the Central Powers or the Allies' support in carrying out their designs (see *The New Europe*, August 15, 1918). The German-Russian Supplementary Treaty added to the clash between the Osmanly and German Eastern policy (*The Times*, Sept. 10, 1918). Germany is aware that her political and commercial interests in the East depend to some extent on the goodwill of the non-Turkic inhabitants of Transcaucasia, Persia, and Turkestan, whom the Osmanly tend to disregard. Also, it was against her aims to distract the Osmanly armies from the re-conquest of Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine. This accounts for the warm protection which Berlin has shown towards the new Georgian Republic (see *The Times*, June 19, 1918), and the indignation of the German Press with 'the growing demands of the Pan-Turks' (*Münchener Post*, June 19, 1918; *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, June 5, 1918; and *Kreuzzeitung*, July 16, 1918). The *Frankfurter Zeitung* (May 28, 1918, quoted by the *Cambridge Magazine*, July 27, 1918) argues that 'the Bagdad Railway is of infinitesimal value compared to the traffic which needs organizing from the Black Sea into the interior of Asia. These routes are destined to revolutionize the trade-map of the world.'

There is no doubt that the presence of British forces in Near Asia was the only obstacle to the German plan for connecting Berlin with Bagdad, or even with Simla. But while the German papers played about with such schemes as Berlin–Bagdad and Hamburg–Herat—schemes which under the circumstances sound most fantastic—their commercial

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000 agents were fully awake to the opportunities afforded to them by the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

The immediate danger of Pan-Turanianism has dispersed with the collapse of Turkey. The character of the Allies' armistice with Turkey announced by the Press Bureau on November 1, 1918, shows complete military collapse, as the result of which the Ottoman Empire falls out of the Great War. Still, it is doubtful whether the mischief done by the spoken and written word will be remedied as rapidly as that of military action, so there yet remains a great need for making clear the true ethnological facts of the problem.

Then only the Osmanly and Pan-Turanian designs will be discredited in Central Asia, just as the Pan-Mahometan propaganda which Osmanly have carried on in Egypt and Arabia was exposed by the subsequent British successes. However, the greatest military and political successes of the Allies will not bring peace to the life of the Turks of Central Asia as long as the Russian element of the East is in a ferment. For it must be remembered that Bolshevism, Social-Revolutionism, Monarchism, and other propagandas have been at work there, and though the social upheaval in Central Asia does not reach such tragic expression as it does in Russia, no military or political settlement can be final before the social revolution has its *dénouement*. One can even prophesy that the Pan-Turanian problem will remain one of the burning questions long after the peace settlement is achieved in Europe and Asia. It is possible that with the great economic changes which can be expected in that part of the world, Central Asia will become part of a large confederate state before its peoples develop a feeling of national unity in the European sense of the word, thus exchanging their tribal for a republican mode of life.[1]

[1] I take the opportunity of thanking my friend Mr. Harold Williams, Ph.D., for his kindness in reading the chapter on the Pan-Turanian Movement and Appendix B.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL

RELATING TO THE EARLY TURKS AND THE PRESENT TURKS OF CENTRAL ASIA

THIS bibliography is to the author's knowledge the first attempt to bring together a list of works relating to the origin of the Turks and their life in Central Asia from the earliest times up to the present day, and covering their history, ethnology, and archaeology. A somewhat vague suggestion of a work of this kind was made as far back as 1879 by the great Central Asian scholar Ujfalvy, who, in the second volume of his *Expédition scientifique française en Russie, en Sibérie et dans le Turkestan*, says, 'On pourrait écrire un livre sur la bibliographie de cette contrée, et il est bien naturel que les auteurs russes occupent dans cette bibliographie la place la plus importante' (p. xii). As will be seen from the bibliography, the scientific data has increased since that time both in quality and quantity.

Chinese, Persian, and Turkish sources are given only so far as they have been translated into English or some other European language. Existing bibliographies dealing with special aspects of the subject have been laid under contribution, and the data verified so far as the books are available in this country.

The greatest debt is due to A. N. Samoylovich's *Materials for an Index of the Literature relating to the Yenisei-Orkhon Inscription* (1912[1]; in Russian), from which some two hundred titles were taken and revised, and, to a certain extent, also to Inostrantseff and Smirnoff's *Materials for the Bibliography of the Mussulman Archaeology* (1906; in Russian).

The author is fully aware of the shortcomings of the present

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[1] This bibliography, again, is to some extent based on *Orientalische Bibliographie*, begründet von F. A. Müller, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Dr. L. Scherman, Berlin, 1888–1915.

000 collection, the probable omission of some valuable works on this subject, and the arrangement of the material merely in alphabetical order. At the present stage of research it is often difficult to isolate the Turks from other peoples in Central Asia without injuring the subject. It is, moreover, impossible to define which works are historical, which ethnological, and which archaeological. However, even in this crude form these bibliographical materials may serve as a starting-point for further research.

113 The following abbreviations have been used throughout the bibliography:

Bab. Orient. Rec. = Babylonian and Oriental Record. London.
J. R. G. S. = Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. London.
J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. London.
J. R. A. I. = Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. London.
J. Centr. As. S. = Journal of the Central Asian Society, London.
A. R. = The Asiatic Review (formerly 'The Asiatic Quarterly Review'). London.
E. R. E. = Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Aberdeen.
Bull. Soc. Antiqu. = Bulletins de la Société Antiquarienne de France. Paris.
Rev. Or. = Revue Orientale pour les Études Oural-Altaïques. Paris.
J. A. = Journal Asiatique. Paris.
M. O. = Le Monde Oriental. Paris.
Le Muséon = Le Muséon. Paris.
La Géographie = La Géographie. Paris.
Rev. Numis. = Revue Numismatique. Paris.
Bull. Éc. Franç. = Bulletins de l'École française de l'Extrême Orie Paris.
N. E. = Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d Roi, Ac. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Paris.
E. I. = The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Leyden and London.
O. B. = Orientalische Bibliographie. Berlin.
L. Z. = Literarischer Zodiacus. Leipzig.
Z. D. M. G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig.

W. Z. K. M. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Vienna.

Z. f. E. = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin.

T. P. = T'oung Pao. Leyden.

K. S. = Keleti Szemle. Budapest.

J. Soc. Fin.-Ougr. = Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Helsingfors.

Mém. Soc. Fin.-Ougr. = Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Helsingfors.

L. A. T. = Living Ancient Times. Живая Старина. Petrograd.

Russ. Anthr. J. = Russian Anthropological Journal. Русскій Антропологическій Журналъ. Petrograd.

Mess. I. R. G. S. = Messenger of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Вѣстникъ Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Petrograd.

Ethn. Rev. = Ethnographical Review. Этнографическое Обозрѣніе. Moscow.

Government News (preceded by the name of the Government in question). Губернскія Вѣдомости.

Oren. Gov. News = Orenburg Government News. Оренбургскія Губернскія Вѣдомости. Orenburg.

Tob. Gov. News = Tobolsk Government News. Тобольскія Губернскія Вѣдомости. Tobolsk.

Semip. Terr. News = Semipalatinsk Territory News. Семипалатинскія Областныя Вѣдомости. Semipalatinsk.

Turk. News = Turkestan News. Туркестанскія Вѣдомости. Tashkent.

J. Min. Int. = Journal of the Ministry of the Interior. Журналъ Министерства Внутреннихъ Дѣлъ. Petrograd.

J. Min. Educ. = Journal of the Ministry of Education. Журналъ Министерства Народнаго Просвѣщенія. Petrograd.

J. Min. Prop. State = Journal of the Ministry of the Property of the State. Журналъ Министерства Государственныхъ Имуществъ. Petrograd.

Mem. I. A. S. = Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Science. Записки Императорской Академіи Наукъ. Petrograd.

Bull. I. A. S. = Bulletins of the Imperial Academy of Science. Извѣстія Императорской Академіи Наукъ. Petrograd.

Bull. Soc. F. S. Anthr. E. = Bulletins of the Society of the Friends of Science, Anthropology and Ethnography at the Imp. University of Moscow. Извѣстія Общества Любителей Естествознанія, Антропологіи и Этнографіи при Импер. Московскомъ Университетѣ. Moscow.

Bull. Russ. Committee = Bulletins of the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and Eastern Asia with regard to its history, archaeology, linguistics and ethnography. Извѣстія Русскаго Комитета для изученія Средней и Восточной Азіи, въ историческомъ, археологическомъ, лингвистическомъ и этнографическомъ отношеніяхъ. Petrograd.

Proc. Turk. Circle F. Arch. = Proceedings of the Turkestan Circle of the Friends of Archaeology. Протоколы Туркестанскаго Кружка Любителей Археологіи. Tashkent.

Mem. Ural S. F. S. = Memoirs of the Ural Society of Friends of Science. Записки Уральскаго Общества Любителей Естествознанія. Ekaterinburg.

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Mem. E. Sib. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Memoirs of the East Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. **Записки Восточно-Сибирскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества.** Irkutsk.

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Mem. Krasn. S. E. Sib. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Memoirs of the Krasnoyarsk Sub-section of the East Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. **Записки Красноярскаго Подотдѣла Восточно-Сибирскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества.** Irkutsk.

Trans. T.-K. S. Amur Sect. I. R. G. S. = Transactions of the Troitskosavsk-Kiakhta Sub-section of the Amur Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Турды Троицкосавско-Кяхтинскаго Подотдѣла Амурскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Troitskosavsk.

Mem. Cauc. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Memoirs of the Caucasian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Записки Кавказскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Tiflis.

Bull. Turk. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Bulletins of the Turkestan Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Извѣстія Туркестанскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Tashkent.

Mem. Oren. Sect. I. R. G. S. = Memoirs of the Orenburg Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Записки Оренбургскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Orenburg.

The abbreviations of other publications used throughout the bibliography need no further explanation.

To facilitate the use of the bibliography relating to the Turkic tribes at present inhabiting Central Asia, a table is appended giving the main existing groups and the names of modern authorities on each of them. The titles of the works will be found in the bibliography.

Altaians (including the Telengit, the Kyzyl, and the Chulim natives).—Adrianoff, Aristoff, Castrén, Gorokhoff, Kalacheff, Korsh, Kosmin, Kostroff, Lutsyenko, Radloff, Shchukin, Shvetsoff, Shvetsova, Vambéry, Vyerbitski, Yadrintseff, Yariloff.

Beltir.—Adrianoff, Goroshchenko, Kostroff, Katanoff, Yakovleff.

Kachints.—Adrianoff, Castrén, Goroshchenko, Karatanoff, Katanoff, Kostroff, Ostrovskikh, Yakovleff, Stepanoff.

Kaizak.—Alektoroff, Aristoff, Castrén, Czaplicka, Daulbaeff, Geins, Grodekoff, Ibrahimoff, Kazantseff, Kharusin, Krassovski, Kustanaeff, Kittary, Levanewski, Levshin, Medvyedski, Meyer, Mikhailoff, Nazaroff, Nikolski, Potanin, Radloff, Reypolski, Schmidt, Troll, Ujfalvy, Velyaminoff-Zernoff, Wulfson, Yadrintseff, Yevreinoff, Zeeland, Zelenin.

Kamashints.—Castrén, Kostroff, Donner, Radloff, Stepanoff.

Karagass.—Katanoff, Prelovski, Radloff, Shtubendorff, Vasilyeff, Zaleski.

Karakalpak.—Maksimoff, Radloff, Castrén.

Kashgarians.—Ujfalvy.

Khotanians.—Joyce (Stein).

Kirei (Kerians, Kerraits).—Carruthers, Joyce (Stein), Kohn.

Kirghis (Kara-Kirghis, Burut).—Alektoroff, Aristoff, Castrén, Chermak, Czaplicka, Divayeff, Geins, Golubyeff, Grodekoff, Ivanowski, Kharuzin, Kosmin, Krasnoff, Nazaroff, Nikolski, Potanin, Radloff, Shkapski, Troll, Tronoff, Ujfalvy, Vambéry, Valikhanoff, Venyukoff, Wulfson, Yadrintseff, Yastreboff, Zagrajski.

Koibal.—Castrén, Goroshchenko, Kostroff, Radloff, Yakovleff.

Kumandints.—Radloff, Sherr.

Sagai.—Adrianoff, Castrén, Goroshchenko, Radloff, Yakovleff.

Sarts.—Mayeff, Nalivkin, Ostroumoff, Shishoff, Sorokin, Troll, Ujfalvy, Vambéry, Wulfson, Yaworski.

Soyot (Uriankhai).—Adrianoff, Africanoff, Carruthers, Castrén, Fabritsius, Goroshchenko, Ivanowski, Katanoff, Maltseff, Olsen, Ostrovskikh, Shishmaryeff, Silinich, Yadrintseff.

Taranchi.—Geins, Gorbachoff, Khoroshkhin.

Tatars (Siberian Turks).—Adrianoff, Castrén, Czaplicka (and Hall), Golovacheff, Goroshchenko, Katanoff, Kosmin, Kostroff, Kuznietsoff, Maloff, Middendorff, Radloff, Stepanoff, Ujfalvy, Yadrintseff, Yakovleff, Yushloff.

Turkomans.—Arkhipoff, Bode, Galkin, Ilyenko, Ivanowki, Kuropatkin, Lessar, Neboksin, Tarnowski, Ujfalvy, Yaworski.

Usbegs.—Bogdanoff, Grebyenkin, Khoroshikhin, Malyeff, Radloff, Troll, Ujfalvy, Vambéry, Velyaminoff-Zernoff, Zaborovski.

Yakut.—Clark, Jochelson-Brodsky, Jochelson, Maak, Middendorff, Piekarski, Priklonski, Shchukin, Sieroszewski, Troshchanski, Wrangell.

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/For a discussion of the processes of fusion, fission, and feudalization which have operated in the development of all Turco-Mongol social groupings, see 2: Hudson, RQ2 Kazak, category 116, pp. 98-105. --Analyst/

THE TURKS OF CENTRAL ASIA:

IN HISTORY AND AT THE PRESENT DAY[1]

AN ETHNOLOGICAL INQUIRY INTO THE PAN-TURANIAN PROBLEM

The Pan-Turanian Movement.

186 The Pan-Turkic or Pan-Turanian movement, supported by the most aggressive portion of Turkish and German public opinion, is a diplomatic activity, the object of which is to subjugate to the Osmanly Turks directly, and to the Germans indirectly, all those countries in which various Turkic languages are spoken. Although its purpose is probably strategical and economic—the acquisition of the cotton of Turkestan, the gold of the Altai, and Central Asian riches in general[2]—this is hidden beneath the cloak of fostering the supposititious desire of various peoples between Thrace and Mongolia
121 for racial and national unity. Only a close study of the peoples whose tongues belong to the Turkic linguistic family can throw light on the moral side of this activity, and show whether the Pan-Turanian programme involves merely a desire for aggrandizement or whether it covers any other relationship, more

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[1] The present work is an enlargement of a lecture delivered in the School of Oriental Studies in London on October 24, 1917.

[2] See Appendix A.

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121 essential than the linguistic one, uniting Central Asia
with Constantinople.[1]

A brief review of the Pan-Turanian programme will
be necessary before approaching the main object of this
essay, i.e. the study of the Eastern or Central Asiatic
103 Turks. The term Central Asia, in accordance with
Humboldt's definition, embraces the area lying between
the Himalayas and the Altai Mountains, the Caspian
000 Sea and Khingan Range. As far as the Western or
Osmanly Turks are concerned, they are dealt with in
several recent publications, namely, Sir William Ramsay's
The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor (Oxford University Press, 1916), Professor H. A. Gibbon's *The
Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford University
Press, 1916), Lord Eversley's *The Turkish Empire:
its Growth and Decay* (Fisher Unwin, 1917), and *Le
Problème Turc*, by Count Léon Ostroróg.[2] Though not
dealing primarily with the racial question, these books
give a vivid picture of the variety of races living under
Osmanly (Ottoman) government, and of the artificiality
186 of the ties that unite them. Sir William Ramsay further
tells us how the Osmanly government has tried to
develop feelings of unity and patriotism among its
subjects on the ground of the common participation in
186 the Islamic religion. But Pan-Islamism—Islam not
177 being exclusively the property of the Turks—would in
565 itself hardly serve to strengthen the position of the
Turkic elements of the empire against Arabian and
other Mahometans.

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[1] Since these pages were written the British advance in Asiatic Turkey, together with the situation produced by the Russian Revolution, has led the German-Osmanly diplomatists to revise some details of their programme. See Appendix B.

[2] An English version of this work, entitled *The Turkish Enigma*, in Winifred Stephens's translation, has just been announced by Messrs. Chatto & Windus.

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corporate structures of these societies are exclusively patrilineal; and this patrilineal composition, the set of agnatic relationships, has cast the entire kinship system into a distinctive pattern. The thesis of the following pages will be that the kinship systems of the various societies of the Asiatic steppes, the Buryats, the Ordos, the Kalmuks, the Monguor, and the Kazakh-Kirgiz, are a series of variations on that pattern, which is an abstraction, nowhere actualised in detail. To trace the working of the patrilineal principle throughout the entire culture, in religion, the economic system, the politico-military organisation, is far too broad an undertaking for the present study. However, evidence from these various spheres will be drawn upon to support and deepen the analysis of the kinship system. And thus some insight may be gained into the manner whereby the agnatic relationship constitutes the social nexus, and thereby imposes its characteristic features on every aspect of culture and society on the steppes. The patrilineal, agnatic kinship system of these peoples gives that society its form, and as form, imposes itself on the cultural content, influencing thought, ideology, values, Weltanschauung.

PREFATORY NOTE

● 122 I would gratefully acknowledge my debt to the
Trustees of the Mary Ewart Trust, as also to the
Principal and Council of Lady Margaret Hall, for
enabling me to carry on at Oxford the research of
000 which the present work is a by-product. It is also
my pleasant duty to thank Mr. Henry Balfour, Curator
of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, and Sir E. Denison
Ross, Director of the School of Oriental Studies,
London, for the kind interest with which they read
this work in manuscript, and gave me their valuable
suggestions. To Mr. Arthur Thomson, Professor of
Human Anatomy in the University of Oxford, I owe
all the facilities which his Department afforded me.

Mr. Henry Balfour was also kind enough to read the work in proof.

Miss B. M. Blackwood, of Somerville College, has rendered me most useful assistance in preparing the manuscript for the press.

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172 342 nomads. This, in its most elaborate form, is spherical, and resembles to some extent the so-called Kirghis, or properly speaking Kaizak, tent, from which, however, it differs in having a conical top instead of being built round a circular frame. There also exist hexagonal, octagonal, and polygonal varieties. These are usually covered with felt, and are called *yurta*.[1]

● 137 262 As regards the botanical environment, more data are available for comparison. There are certain forest plants, very plentiful in the Altai and Sayan Mountains, whose roots are much esteemed as food by the modern Turks, as they seem to have been by the ancient. Among them are *sarana* (*Lilium Martagon*), *kandyk* (*Erithronium dens canis*), and *cheremsha* (*Allium ursinum*). So characteristic are these roots as articles of food among the present-day Turks that the names for the different times of the year are taken from the plants that are then in season. Thus Bes-ai is 'the month of *kandyk*' (May), and Ak-sep-ai is 'the month of *sarana*' (June).

172 241 The agriculture carried on in the clearings of the forest was in the olden days similar to what it was at the time when the Russians first occupied the country. Barley seems to have been the chief product. On spots where the cattle have been pastured for some time the modern Altaians grow hemp. The vegetable ornament found in the late Bronze Age, and in abundance in the Iron Age, proves that the ancient inhabitants knew and used the same plants as are utilized by the present natives.

Among the agricultural implements found in the

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[1] N. M. Yadrintseff, *On the Altaians and the Chern Tatars*, p. 8.

method of construction. The face as reconstructed on 172
a skull would naturally be coarser than the mask taken 764
from a face, unless of course the constructor were a master more skilled in the moulding of human features than was the man of the Bronze Age of Minusinsk.

It is noteworthy that the craniometric measurements 141
of skulls found in these kurgans do not give us evidence 172
to support the theory of two distinct physical races. The results of these measurements are summed up by Goroshchenko as follows:[1] that the type of these skulls shows great uniformity with that of other Bronze Age skulls, that they resemble the skulls of the older kurgans of the Moscow Government, and that they do not correspond with any measurements of skulls on living people of the modern population of this region, whether Mongol or Turk. The most striking feature of these skulls is their long-headedness. Out of 96 skulls of the kurgans of the Minusinsk region, 42 were dolichocephalic and 21 sub-dolichocephalic.[2]

This brings us to this most unsettled problem: the 000
definition of the physique of the Turks of Central Asia.

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[1] Goroshchenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 30. The measurements of the male skulls of the two groups of kurgans where the masks were found give the following result (Table II):

Cephalic Index.

Tagara Kurgans	74.6	(16 measurements)
Chaa-tas	73.2	(13 „)

Horizontal Circumference.

Tagara Kurgans	522	(18 measurements)
Chaa-tas	527	(14 „)

Altitudinal (Height) Index.

Tagara Kurgans	76	(6 measurements)
Chaa-tas	72.5	(10 „)

Among the earliest investigators of the anthropology of Central Asia is the well-known Hungarian scholar Ujfalvy.[1] Then there should be mentioned Grenard,[2] Troll,[3] Shishoff,[4] and Goroshchenko.[5] The Russian anthropologist Ivanowski,[6] who is responsible for a compilation containing a greater number of anthropometric data than that of any other living anthropologist, distinguishes what he calls the Central Asiatic anthropological type. He defines its characteristics as follows: dark-coloured hair and eyes, light hair and eyes being exceptional; stature of the majority medium, with a tendency towards high stature among the Kaizak of the Middle Orda, the town Taranchi, and some Sarts; the head is brachycephalic (broad-headed) or hyperbrachycephalic; the nose among the majority is leptorrhine (narrow), broad noses being met with chiefly among the Kaizak of the Middle Orda; the trunk is long and the chest dimensions are medium, with a tendency to very small. Taking this as the standard, we see that the Kara-Kirghis differ from it by being

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[1] C. E. Ujfalvy, *Essai d'une Carte ethnographique de l'Asie centrale; Les Aryens au nord et au sud de l'Hindou Kouch*, 1896; *Expédition scientifique en Russie, Sibérie et dans le Turkestan*, 1878.

[2] F. Grenard, 'Le Turkestan et le Tibet', in *Mission scientifique dans la Haute Asie*, 1890–5; J. L. Dutrueil de Rhins, pt. II.

[3] Troll, 'Individual-Aufnahmen central-asiatischer Eingeborner', *Z. f. E.*, 1890, pt. iii.

[4] A. Shishoff, *The Sarts*, vol. III, Anthropology, 1905.

[5] K. I. Goroshchenko and A. A. Ivanowski, 'The Natives of the Yenisei', *Russ. Anthr. J.*, 1907, Nos. i, ii; K. I. Goroshchenko, 'Materials for the anthropology of Siberia', *Bull. Krasn. S. E. Sib. Sect. I. R. G. S.*, vol. I, No. ii, 1905.

[6] A. A. Ivanowski, *Anthropological Composition of the Population of Russia*, 1904, pp. 207–8; and *Population of the World*, 1911, pp. 391–2.

141 less dark in colouring, taller, with a longer face; the Yakut approach nearer in type to the Mongol-Buriat; while the 'Tatars' of Southern Yenisei stand nearer to the Samoyed.[1] This similarity must naturally be attributed to later admixture.

There are no anthropometric data regarding the various Altaian Turks (namely, the Chern 'Tatars', Kumandints, Teleut, Teles, Altaian Oirot, same as Altai Kalmuck, and the Chu Telengit). We have, however, 142 most valuable observations about their physical type by the late Siberian scholar Yadrintseff. In an essay

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[1] Some of the chief measurements of the Turks of Central Asia, based on the work of Ivanowski (*Population of the World*) and Joyce (*op. cit.*):

	Tribe.	Stature (medium).	Ceph. Ind.	Height Index.	Full-face Index.	Nasal Index.	Authority.
Ivanowski	Taranchi	(374) 1646	(368) 86·4	(107) 74·5	Ivanowski's index is from margin of hair to mental.		Ujf.
	Sarts	(238) 1677	(223) 83·6			(104) 61·5	Blag. Shi. Troll
	Kaizak and Kipchak	(418) 1644	(405) 87·0			(172) 68·9	Tr. Ujf.
	Usbegs	(292) 1675	(282) 86·1			(13) 69·0	Tr. Ujf.
	Kara-Kirghis	(83) 1676	(78) 85·9			(47) 75·9	Tr. Ujf.
	Soyot	(72) 1597		(72) 71·4		(72) 70·2	Goros. Ivan.
	Sagai	(60) 1620	(60) 80·8			(60) 73·0	Goros. Ivan.
	Kachints	(42) 1619	(34) 82·4			(34) 78·0	Goros. Ivan.
	Beltir	(78) 1607	(74) 79·5			(73) 78·0	Goros. Ivan.
Joyce	Khotanese	(19) 1645	(22) 84·4		(23) 87·4	(23) 71·7	Stein
	Keriyans	(15) 1589	(16) 86·9		(16) 82·4	(16) 81·1	Stein

For the measurements of the Yakut see 'Report of the Expedition to the Yenisei', by M. A. Czaplicka and H. U. Hall (to be published shortly).

by their neighbours. It must be remembered that 233
while the reindeer is not known to the Turks of Tian-Shan and the upper Yenisei, the latter people have several other species of deer, especially the elk (*Cervus alces*) and the maral (*Cervus elephas*). The domesticated deer is rare.

Forming a wedge between the Tungusic and the 177
Palaeo-Siberian tribes, the Yakut impose their language, together with many of their customs, on both these groups, as well as on the Russian settlers. In religion [791]
they are typical Shamanists.

On meeting a Yakut among the various Mongoloid 142
peoples of the north, one is at once struck with the difference in his physiognomy. His hair and eyes are darker, his nose narrower and better marked, and on the whole he gives the impression of possessing Southern, and one might almost say Semitic, characteristics. And yet he can hardly be suspected of having any Arabic strain.

The *Siberian Tatars* live chiefly in the Tomsk and 101
Yeniseisk Governments. In the Tomsk Government, 191
70 per cent. of them do not know any language but their own; the remaining 30 per cent. speak Russian also. In the Yeniseisk Government only 12 per cent. speak the Russian language besides their own.

As to their religion some of them are Mahometans, 779
namely: 101

1. Tobolsk Tatars and 'Siberian Bokharians' of the Tobolsk district.
2. The Baraba Tatars of the Kainsk district.
3. The Tomsk Tatars of the Mariinsk district.
4. The Kuznietsk Tatars of the Kuznietsk and Barnaul district.

Others[1] are still Shamanists or 'Christian-Shamanists', 101
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[1] [i.e. Siberian Tartars--- Analyst]

175 language, and Professor Parker makes the suggestion that all the cart-using people of Hiung-nu origin north of the desert region of Issyk-Kul and Syr Daria were once called Ting-ling.[1]

How far the other tribes of Central Asia prominent towards the end of the pre-Christian era, for instance the Saka, were related to the Hun-nu it is difficult to ascertain, but in any case the 'Aryan' population of West Central Asia must have been considerably long after the Graeco-Bactrian kingdoms were destroyed by the Yüe-Chi. The lack of information about the linguistic affinities of these people makes it difficult to define them in the very early centuries of our era. It is known, for instance, that the Hun-nu used the Turkic language in the fourth century A. D.,[2] but whether it was their original language is not clear.

[142] We hear that the Usuni (Wusun) of Ili and Balkash, and the Khakas (later Kirghis), were fair-haired and blue-eyed. This may be explained either by their contact with some 'Aryan' people, or by attributing to them an 'Aryan' origin. In 95 B. C. the Chinese said that the Khakas lived in the regions of the Kem and the upper Yenisei. Then again in the third century A. D. we hear about the 'blond Kirghis' (Kien-kun) as being very powerful and providing 20,000 men in time of war.[3] Of course, we have no proof that the fair Khakas of that time, and their kin the Uigur, were Turkic-speaking people, except that some names of objects and of the months mentioned by the Chinese

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[1] Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

[2] Barthold, review of Aristoff's *Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition*, &c., p. 343.

[3] O. Donner, 'Sur l'origine de l'alphabet turc du Nord de l'Asie', *J. Soc. Fin.-Ougr.*, Helsingfors, 1896, XIV, p. 70.

144 [142] As has been said in dealing with the history and archaeology, the mention of fair-haired and blue-eyed people[1] leads us to the conclusion that this type must have entered into the composition of the modern Turk of Central Asia. Besides, nothing else was to be expected in the region of Altai and Sayan, considering how close this region is to the Amu-Daria (Oxus) and Tarim valleys, where it is fairly certain that the brachycephalic Alpine type of Western Europe originated. Whoever studies the altogether insufficient anthropometric data of Central Asia must necessarily wonder with Joyce 'whether indeed the race is not the result of an admixture in varying proportion, according to locality, of Aryan and Mongol stocks'.[2] Even if we agree that the Central Asiatic Turks have their individuality historically and ethnologically, this is not necessarily associated with a distinct physical race. And yet, although the amount of research as yet accomplished, and perhaps also the present state of anthropology, is not such as to justify us in speaking of a separate Turkic race or sub-race, there seems to be some national type, or types, which we can distinguish in the Turks when we meet them outside their proper territory. Thus, the Yakut, who have now inhabited the Arctic region for several hundred years, stand out amongst the other Arctic peoples on account of what might be called their Southern type. The admixture of the 'Tatar' blood of Southern Yenisei in the Samoyed of the Ob is also clearly apparent.

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[1] A. V. Adrianoff, *Sketches of the Minusinsk Country*, p. 7; G. E. Grum-Grzymailo, *Description of Travels in Western China*, ch. viii, 1896-7.

[2] T. A. Joyce, 'On the Physical Anthropology of the Oases of Khotan and Keriya', *J. A. I.*, 1903, vol. XXXIII, p. 315.

1 [see category 116, p. 66 -- Analyst]

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on the Altaians, published in 1881,[1] he says that many 142 Altaians who have as yet had no contact with the colonists resemble in their type the Caucasians (Aryans). Blue eyes, chestnut and fair hair, and non-prominent cheek-bones are often met with, especially among the Kumandints.[2] And yet no record is known that the 144 Aryans ever spread as far as the Altai Mountains; on the other hand, we know of the close association of the Turkic race with this region. The only plausible suggestion, therefore, is that the prehistoric contact of the Turks and Aryans, which brought the knowledge of bronze to Turan, affected the physical type of the Asiatic Turks just as it affected their nomad life, leading them to settle down to agriculture.

When remains of two archaeological periods are 172 found in one place the popular conclusion is that the later culture was brought to that place by the later comers. For a long time the archaeology of the Minusinsk district was treated in accordance with this rule. The Bronze period of the region was ascribed to some local autochthonous people. They were said to be peaceful, since there are hardly any weapons among the remains of this period. From the abundant remains of implements connected with agriculture and mining they were put down as agriculturists and miners, and finally they were described as democratic, because we find at that time communal graves and graves of common people generally, while in the Iron Age it is mostly the chiefs who enjoyed the privilege of burial in a kurgan. On the other hand, the Iron Age people were supposed subsequently it was accepted as if it had been of local origin.[1] 773

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[1] N. M. Yadrintseff, 'On the Altaians and the Chern Tatars', *Bull. I. R. G. S.*, 1881.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

Such is the story of one of the 'historic heritages' claimed by the Osmanly. But, as a matter of fact, the more current version of the origin of the Turks is that which derives their tribes from Ogus-Khan, son of Kara-Khan, grandson of Dik-Bakui, great-grandson of Abuldji-Khan, who was a direct descendant of Noah. Such at least is the version given in one of the first attempts at recording the Turkic myths relating to their origin.[2]

If from the realm of mythology we turn to the physical 144
or racial side, we are in perplexity as to why the 177
drafters of the Pan-Turanian propaganda entirely dis- 197
regard the fact that the Osmanly have now more Albanian, Slavonic, Thracian, and Circassian blood in their veins than they have Turkic; that their culture is more Persian, Arabian, and European than Central Asiatic; and that even in language there are divergences no less wide than are to be found among the languages of the Germanic family. All differences are disregarded, and linguistic similarity is magnified into linguistic identity.

Had the Turks and their allies, the Central Powers, 186
been successful in their military plans, their intentions as regards Central Asia were as follows: '*Thirty to forty millions of Turks will become independent, and together with the ten millions of Ottoman Turks, will form a nation of fifty millions, which may perhaps be compared with that of Germany in that it will have the strength and*

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[1] J. de Guignes, *Histoire générale des Huns*, vol. I, pt. ii, Book I, pp. 371-3.

[2] Recorded by Rashid al-Din, quoted by Radloff, *Concerning the Uigur*, p. 1.

101 another vague term, 'Tatar', has become so deeply rooted in European books on Asia, that there seems to be no hope of either of them ever being abandoned for the names by which the tribes of Central Asia call themselves.[1]

Division of the Turkic-speaking peoples.

The ethnological evidence must now be examined, and to make what follows intelligible, it is necessary to preface some explanation of the broad division into Western and Eastern Turks which is here proposed.

By the term *Western Turks* is understood all the Turks—or people speaking Turkic languages, most of them subject to the Ottoman Empire—as far east as [161] Persia and Afghanistan. Their number is 8–9 millions.

The term *Eastern Turks* is used to embrace the people of Turkestan and Central Asia as far as Mongolia and China. Their number is about 10 millions.

There are also Turks in European Russia, viz. in the Crimea, in the Caucasus, and along the Volga, especially [161] round Kazan and Astrakhan. These number 3½–4 millions, including some of the Turkicized Finnic tribes of the Volga. Linguistically and politically they form one group with the Eastern Turks, with the exception of the Azerbeijan, who speak a Western Turkic [144] language. But in physical type and culture they are all now mixed with Eastern Europeans, to a slightly less degree than the Osmanly are with the South-Eastern Europeans. The Pan-Turanian programme

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[1] It must be noted that, according to M. Joseph Halévy, the Turanians of Avesta and of Shâh Naméh were the Semites of Syria, because Syria was called Althura . . . Tura (C. E. Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens*, p. 49).

105 (*ādat*). In religion they are now all Mahometans, in language they belong to the Jagatai Turks. Clan division is still fairly strict among them, and migrations are usually carried out in clans. Their custom of endogamy may be regarded as having as its object the preservation of the purity of their race from foreign admixture. Since the women are inferior in numbers to the men, the *kalym* or bride-price is very high, and in some places the unmarried men form 27 per cent. of the population. Their clans are nine in number, [618] two of them, however, being almost extinct. The chief clans are:

Chaudor, between Khiva and the Caspian;
Yomut, on the south shore of the Caspian, and in south-west Khiva;
Goklan, on Persian soil;
Akhal and *Merv Tekkes*, in the Akhal and Merv oases;
Sarik, on the middle Murgab;
Salor, round Merv and in northern Persia;
Ersari, on the middle Amu Daria, and near Khoya Salih.

● [144] Though linguistically and politically classified as Turks, in all these people the Iranian type predominates, in culture as well as in physique.

[162] The Sarts (1,847,000 in 1911, as against 1,458,000 in 1897) live in the Ferghana and Syr Daria territories, and are also to be found sporadically in other parts of Turkestan.

[144] They are a mixture of the original Iranian inhabitants, the Tadjiks, with their Turanian conquerors, the Usbegs. In physical type they approach nearer to the Iranians. They live in villages, called *kishlak*, and their houses, called *sakla*, are made of a compound of wood and clay.

Though engaged chiefly in commerce, they are also successful agriculturists. They know the use of *aryk* or irrigation canals, and are reputed to be the best cultivators of cotton and fruit plantations. On the whole there is only one people who surpass them as agriculturists, namely the Tadjiks,[1] who are supposed to be pure Iranians. 105

The Sarts are Mahometans, Sunnites, many of them followers of the Sufi order. They adhere to the Mahometan written law (*sheriat*). They keep their women more strictly in seclusion than is the case among any other Turkic tribe. This is probably connected with the high degree of organization shown in their religious culture, which exceeds that of the other tribes. They have a great reverence for the Mussulman educational institutions usually to be found in connexion with the Sufi religious orders, and supported by public donations. There are three of these orders in Central Asia, the most ancient of them being in Ferghana. The educational institutions are divided into higher (*Medresse*) and lower (*Mektab*). Besides instruction in religious and legal subjects, the students are given some general knowledge based on mediaeval conceptions; thus Sart geography represents the world as being flat, and surrounded by mountains. In the lower [795] 871

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[1] The Tadjiks are the remnants of the old Aryan population of Central Asia, living chiefly in the Samarkand and Ferghana districts. In 1911 they numbered about 400,000, i.e. 67 per cent. of the total population. The Tadjiks living in the valleys and engaged in agriculture are now scarcely distinguishable in language and physique from their neighbours the Sarts, but the Mountain Tadjiks, or Galcha, are still using their Iranian language, and differ from the dark Turanians around them by reason of their light-coloured hair and skin. 144 • 162

101 people who mix their pagan practices with some of the
177 Russian Orthodox Church beliefs. Those are:
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5. The Forest (Chern) Tatars of the Biisk district.
6. The Teleut and Telengit of the Biisk and Kuznietsk districts.
7. The Kumandits (or 'White Kalmucks') of the Kuznietsk and Biisk districts.
8. The Shortes and Lebyedints of the Kuznietsk district.
9. The Kyzyl and Chulim natives of the Achinsk district.
10. The Abakan Tatars (Kachints, Koibal, Beltir, and Sagai) of the Minusinsk district.
11. The Karagass of the Nijneudinsk district of the government of Irkutsk.
12. The Kamashints of the Kansk district.

177 The *Teleut* of the Kuznietsk district are perhaps the
101 most Russified, while the *Telengit*, along the rivers
● 144 Biya and Katun, are very much mixed with the Mongols.
The following tribes are said to be mixed with the Ugrian-Ostyak, the Yenisei-Ostyak, and the Samoyed, though in culture, language, and tradition they are now Turkic:

1, The Kamashints; 2, the Karagass; 3, the Koibal; 4, the Beltir; 5, the Kyzyl; 6, the Shortes; 7, the Kumandints.

144 The racial origin of these tribes has been defined,
618 often superficially, merely judging from the names of
their clans. Thus the Kyzyl (*Kysi*, 'man') are composed of ten classes: Kyzyl, Malo-Achin, Bolshe-Achin, Agy, Bassagar, Kamnar, Argyn, Kalmak, Kurchik, Shui. Of these, Argyn clan is said to be the remnant of the Kaizak of the Middle Orda, because those people have also had a clan of this name. Kalmak clan is also

found among the Teleut, and Shui among Yenisei 618
Ostyak, hence the admixture of the two races is attributed 144
to Kyzyl by Radloff.[1]

Most of the Siberian Tatars, as well as Northern 101
Uriankhai, call themselves Tuba, either exclusively or 174
alongside with their tribal name, *Tuba* being the name of one of their clans. This name *Tuba*, *Tubas*, *Tupo* or *Doubo*, like the word *Tatar*, should be used with great caution, until its origin and meaning have been more clearly defined. It seems to have been adopted by the Chinese as a collective term for the people living in the Southern Yenisei Region, probably along the river of this name, the right tributary of the Yenisei. The Russian historians of Siberia, Miller[2] and Fischer,[3] mention the people of Tuba as paying tribute to the Mongol Altyn Khan, and opposing for a long time Russian conquest, but it is not clear whether this name had a racial meaning, designating, e.g., the extinct Arine, Kottes, &c., or the Samoyed, or was used only as a geographical term for all peoples living near the River Tuba. Now at any rate it does not seem to be limited entirely to the tribes whom one can suspect of having some Samoyed blood in them, for it is found among the Altaians, whom even Castrén and Kostroff with all their 'Pan-Samoyedic' theory could not call 'Tatarised Samoyed'. It is found moreover among the *Kachints*, who, according to Katanoff,[4] were Kuchum-Khan people, who moved to the River Kacha, near Krasnoyarsk, after the defeat of Kuchum, and farther

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[1] A. A. Yariloff, *The Kyzyl and their Industry*, 1899, p. 1.

[2] G. F. Miller, *Description of the Tsardom of Siberia* (1750).

[3] J. E. Fischer, *Sibirische Geschichte* (1768).

[4] 'Legends relating to old deeds and old people among the tribes living near the Sayan Mountains', *Mem. I. R. G. S.*, vol. XXXIV, 1909, p. 280.

by the Russians in 1856, and was practically annexed 167 by them in 1886. The whole country became almost independent of China after Mongolia declared its independence in 1914, and the old Russian Government, intending to occupy this rich pasture land, had begun to colonize it energetically. This aroused some opposition among the natives, who, having scarcely felt their dependence on China, were not prepared to give up their best lands to the Russian Colonization Committee. Many Uriankhai have for the last three years been moving in clan order, with all their herds, into the steppes of Northern Mongolia. This is, in fact, the most recent *en masse* migration in Central Asia. It has ceased, however, since the Russian Revolution, owing to the influence exercised by Siberian scholars and public men, such as G. Potanin and A. Adrianoff, in the protection of the rights of the natives.[1]

The Uriankhai are sometimes called *Soyot* (sing. 101 *Soyan*, from the clan-name *Saya*). But it is not certain whether this name ought to be applied to all of them. The name by which they call themselves in the North is *Tuba*.

According to the East Turkic scholar Katanoff, the 197 language of the Uriankhai is Turko-Tatar,[2] but of 144 course they are now mixed to a great extent with the Mongols. It must be remembered that Castrén and some of his followers are inclined to see in the Uriankhai members of the original Samoyed-Yeniseian race, who mixed with the Turks and adopted a Turkic language.[3]

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[1] See articles in *Sibirskaya Jisn*, Feb. 26, 1916, May 3, 1917.

[2] E. K. Yakovleff, *Ethnographical Survey of the Native Population of the Valley of Southern Yenisei*, Minusinsk, 1900, p. 18.

[3] M. A. Castrén, *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*, vol. IV, pp. 83-6; D. Carruthers, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 20, 52-5, 200; vol. V, pp. 116-17.

175 always influenced by Chinese civilization and the Hiung-nu by Chinese plus Iranian.[1] This will explain why Jinghis Khan himself and all his dynasty were under obligations to Turkic culture. We hear that Jinghis Khan had as preceptor for his sons a Uigur Turk named Tatatungo,[2] and in the religious and cultural toleration he is known to have shown to the conquered countries the preference was given to the Turks. Two Turkic sovereigns contemporary with Jinghis Khan, Ouang Khan ('Prester John') of the Kirei and Tai-Yang-Khan of the Naïman, were devoted Nestorian Christians.

101 Thanks to the researches of Rashid al-Dīn, it is

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144 [1] Such would be the view obtained from as independent a standpoint as possible. It must be remembered, however, that Mongolian scholars would be ready to find a much larger Mongol element present in pre-Jinghis Khan times, and would attribute the Jinghis Khan conquests to the genius of the Mongolic race. There are tribes, such as the ancient 'Tatars'—some of them, namely the Otui and Tokus 'Tatars', mentioned in the inscriptions of Bilghe Khan in the Orkhon valley as dependent on Turkic *ela* (confederacy)—whom Mongolian scholars such as Father Jakinth Bichurin would reckon with the Mongols, while the Turkic scholar N. A. Aristoff reckons them with the Turks. And if a Tungus scholar cared to trace the origin of the name Tatar (a subdivision of Tatan) in the Chinese annals as translated by Bichurin, he would find that the name Tatan was adopted in the ninth century by a branch of the Mo-ho (Mokho) who were descendants of Sushen and Ilu, now recognized as being of Tungus race. In the twelfth century the Tatan confederacy was composed of Mongol, Khere, Taigut, and Tatar tribes. Bichurin gives Jinghis Khan as one of the four princes belonging to it. (W. Thomsen, 'On the Orkhon and Yenisei Monuments with Inscriptions', *J. Min. Educ.*, June, 1898; J. Bichurin, *Notes on Mongolia*, vol. II, pt. iii, pp. 174–7; N. A. Aristoff, 'Notes on the Ethnic Composition of the Turkic Tribes and Nations', *L. A. T.*, 1896, III and IV, pp. 277–456.)

[2] Skrine and Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

possible to obtain a clear idea of the tribes inhabiting 161
Central Asia in his time. From his knowledge of them, 144
and the information he collected, he divides them into three groups: (1) the Ogus Turks and their kindred, of purely Turkic blood; (2) the tribes which were taken for Mongols in the thirteenth century, but who were in fact Mongolized Turks; (3) the tribes of purely Mongol blood, who lived on the eastern and northern outskirts of the Turkic lands.[1] Hence the tribes called pure Turks by Rashid al-Dīn probably inhabited the lands which are known to have recovered their Turkic features after the death of Jinghis Khan.

Of the states that arose after the death of Jinghis 175
Khan in 1227 the most Turkic were the Middle Empire (Eastern and Western Turkestan), ruled over by his son Jagatai and his descendants, and Dasht-i-Kipchak, i.e. the country of the lower Volga, the North Caspian Steppes, the Aral Steppes, and Western Siberia, ruled over by another son, Juji, and his descendants.

Turkic in feeling and in culture as were Jagatai and his line, they were succeeded in 1360 by Timur, a chief of Moghulistan, purely Turkic in blood as in sympathies, who founded the brilliant Timurid dynasty.[2] 'The annals of this house were rendered illustrious by the names of poets, philosophers, and theologians which are still household words throughout the East.'[3] Among its famous members was the great general, philosopher, and writer Mirza Baber, whose Memoirs still remain as a monument in the Jagatai language.[4]

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[1] Radloff, *Concerning the Uigur*, p. 1.

[2] L. Cahun (*op. cit.*) takes Timur to be a descendant of Jagatai.

[3] Skrine and Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[4] See p. 27.

144 [142] As has been said in dealing with the history and archaeology, the mention of fair-haired and blue-eyed people[1] leads us to the conclusion that this type must have entered into the composition of the modern Turk of Central Asia. Besides, nothing else was to be expected in the region of Altai and Sayan, considering how close this region is to the Amu-Daria (Oxus) and Tarim valleys, where it is fairly certain that the brachycephalic Alpine type of Western Europe originated. Whoever studies the altogether insufficient anthropometric data of Central Asia must necessarily wonder with Joyce 'whether indeed the race is not the result of an admixture in varying proportion, according to locality, of Aryan and Mongol stocks'.[2] Even if we agree that the Central Asiatic Turks have their individuality historically and ethnologically, this is not necessarily associated with a distinct physical race. And yet, although the amount of research as yet accomplished, and perhaps also the present state of anthropology, is not such as to justify us in speaking of a separate Turkic race or sub-race, there seems to be some national type, or types, which we can distinguish in the Turks when we meet them outside their proper territory. Thus, the Yakut, who have now inhabited the Arctic region for several hundred years, stand out amongst the other Arctic peoples on account of what might be called their Southern type. The admixture of the 'Tatar' blood of Southern Yenisei in the Samoyed of the Ob is also clearly apparent.

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[1] A. V. Adrianoff, *Sketches of the Minusinsk Country*, p. 7; G. E. Grum-Grzymailo, *Description of Travels in Western China*, ch. viii, 1896-7.

[2] T. A. Joyce, 'On the Physical Anthropology of the Oases of Khotan and Keriya', *J. A. I.*, 1903, vol. XXXIII, p. 315.

1 [see category 116, p. 66 -- Analyst]

on the Altaians, published in 1881,[1] he says that many 142
Altaians who have as yet had no contact with the colonists resemble in their type the Caucasians (Aryans). Blue eyes, chestnut and fair hair, and non-prominent cheek-bones are often met with, especially among the Kumandints.[2] And yet no record is known that the 144
Aryans ever spread as far as the Altai Mountains; on the other hand, we know of the close association of the Turkic race with this region. The only plausible suggestion, therefore, is that the prehistoric contact of the Turks and Aryans, which brought the knowledge of bronze to Turan, affected the physical type of the Asiatic Turks just as it affected their nomad life, leading them to settle down to agriculture.

When remains of two archaeological periods are 172
found in one place the popular conclusion is that the later culture was brought to that place by the later comers. For a long time the archaeology of the Minusinsk district was treated in accordance with this rule. The Bronze period of the region was ascribed to some local autochthonous people. They were said to be peaceful, since there are hardly any weapons among the remains of this period. From the abundant remains of implements connected with agriculture and mining they were put down as agriculturists and miners, and finally they were described as democratic, because we find at that time communal graves and graves of common people generally, while in the Iron Age it is mostly the chiefs who enjoyed the privilege of burial in a kurgan. On the other hand, the Iron Age people were supposed

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[1] N. M. Yadrintseff, 'On the Altaians and the Chern Tatars', *Bull. I. R. G. S.*, 1881.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

172 now serfs, and your clean daughters are fallen into slavery.'[1] Surely this quotation does not bear out the idea cherished by some scholars, that the Turanian Turks, at the time when they enter history, were very similar to the Mongols, that is, were warlike nomads of the steppes. Such a description would to a great extent be applicable to the border population of the Kirghis, the nomadic Kaizak. But to judge the old Turks by the Kaizak would be equivalent to estimating the culture of modern Russia by that of the European Kaizaks or Cossacks.

Even if we find among some Turkic tribes of the present day a tradition of their having been originally steppe nomads, this notion may be classified with another fictitious Turkic tradition, namely, that which provides them with a descent from the Mongol Jinghis Khan.

Some Conclusions.

● 144 From this review of the archaeological, historical, and ethnological evidence, it seems obvious that the Turanian Turks may be considered to be a remnant of the old Turkic race which has passed through various changes in Central Asia, having been originally known as Hiung-nu. The Turks, who are here called Iranian, have lost to a much greater extent than the Turanians the line of genealogical continuity with the Hiung-nu, or even the Tu-kiu. Still more is this the case with those Turks who have passed through several more 'racial filtrations' and environmental influences, namely, the Azerbeijan and the Osmanly Turks. In fact, were it not for their Turkic language, the Osmanly would have to be classified among the

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[1] Kosmin, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

3: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RL4 Turkic Peoples RL4

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Europeans 'by adoption', like the Hungarians or the Bulgarians.

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It is not the author's aim to append a political moral to a work whose object is to show the unscientific character of one of those high-sounding terms that begin with 'Pan-'. To wish for conquest and expansion is one thing; to claim a land on grounds of ethnical and traditional continuity is quite another. Linguistic relationship has often been used—and abused—as a plea for subjugating a weaker race to a stronger. The fact remains, however, that if there is no other community than a distant relationship in language, there need be no community of interest at all. Of course, the Turkic people of Central Asia, who, though numerous, are divided into small nations, may be at the mercy of a stronger invader; and, should the course of this war or of the Russian Revolution bring about such a situation, they may be subdued to such a power in a political way. But to speak of the Osmanlis and the Turanian Turks as a racial and cultural unity would be by a stroke of the pen, or by means of a propagandist pamphlet, to wipe away all the invasions, migrations, massacres, and fusions which for twenty centuries have played havoc with that part of the world.

It is now clear that Asia cannot in the future be artificially divided from her peninsula Europe, and that she will rapidly return to conditions similar to those which existed before our era, when the White and Yellow races met on the heights of Turan. Of course, the plan for a 'Middle-Asia' involves fewer practical difficulties than that for a 'Mittel-Europa', in so far as the national consciousness of the Central Asiatic Turks is weaker than that of the Central European

Hazara AU5
Turkic Peoples RL4

A While they are more primi-
464 tive and intellectually inferior to the ruling Afghans, they are physi-
701 cally very sturdy and brave, and their honest and simple natures,
free from all fanaticism, give them an attractive personality. Those
H who have taken service in the Indian army and in railroad con-
462 struction are almost as highly spoken of as the Gurkhas of Nepal,
142 whom they also resemble physically. Outside of their own mountain
181 fastnesses in the Hazarajat, where they are today relatively undisturbed, they supply most of the unskilled labor for road building etc., and their position differs but little from that of serfs. In the Afghan army they have been organized into several battalions of sappers and miners.

H Aside from their distinctly Mongolian type the Hazaras—at least
144 the western clans—may be readily recognized by their small conical
291 headdress of bright-colored calico, lined with fur or sheepskin which forms a fringe around the edge.

A

F. CHAHAR AYMAKS (250,000).

162 These are four semipastoral tribes of northwestern Afghanistan
T closely related to the Hazaras, but belonging to the Sunni persua-
101 sion. Like the Hazaras they are of pure Tartar or Mongolian origin
and possess all the physical and mental attributes of their kinsmen
● 144 further to the south. But being less numerous and less fiercely inde-
795 pendent than the Hazaras they never had to suffer so much at the
197 hands of the central government, especially as they appear to have become Sunnis (with some exceptions) at an early period. They speak either Turki or Persian dialects, and even a mixture of both.

A (a) The *Taimanis* (160,000) are the most numerous of these four
162 tribes. They occupy the Ghorat, i. e., the mountains between the
T Hari Rud and the Ghor, where the medieval Kingdom of Ghor
162 (10th–13th centuries A. D.) must have been located. They are not
exclusively nomads, but also cultivators of the soil. Intermarriage
291 has slightly modified the original Mongolian type. Their dress is
197 more like that of the Tajiks than the Hazaras, and they wear the
101 turban. Their language is largely Turki.

(b) *Firozkohis* (50,000) roam the entire watershed of the Murghab River, north of the Band-i-Baba Range. They are said to have come from the Firoz-koh mountain (near Samnan, in North Persia) although they look more Mongolian than the other Aymaks. They speak Persian and wear a turban like the Uzbegs.

(c) *Jamshedis* (20,000) are found in the district of Badghis, between the Hari Rud and the Russian frontier. They have a reputation for intelligence, honesty, and good horsemanship. Although they dress like the Uzbegs and speak Turki they differ from them by wearing the sheepskin hat.

113, 15, 181 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For a discussion of personality and culture development among the Turco-Mongol nomads of the steppes of Central Asia, see 6: Tomasic, RF1 Great Russia, pp. 22-31]

101 another vague term, 'Tatar', has become so deeply rooted in European books on Asia, that there seems to be no hope of either of them ever being abandoned for the names by which the tribes of Central Asia call themselves.[1]

Division of the Turkic-speaking peoples.

The ethnological evidence must now be examined, and to make what follows intelligible, it is necessary to preface some explanation of the broad division into Western and Eastern Turks which is here proposed.

By the term *Western Turks* is understood all the Turks—or people speaking Turkic languages, most of them subject to the Ottoman Empire—as far east as
● [161] Persia and Afghanistan. Their number is 8–9 millions.

The term *Eastern Turks* is used to embrace the people of Turkestan and Central Asia as far as Mongolia and China. Their number is about 10 millions.

There are also Turks in European Russia, viz. in the Crimea, in the Caucasus, and along the Volga, especially
[161] round Kazan and Astrakhan. These number 3½–4 millions, including some of the Turkicized Finnic tribes of the Volga. Linguistically and politically they form one group with the Eastern Turks, with the exception of the Azerbeijan, who speak a Western Turkic
[144] language. But in physical type and culture they are all now mixed with Eastern Europeans, to a slightly less degree than the Osmanly are with the South-Eastern Europeans. The Pan-Turanian programme

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[1] It must be noted that, according to M. Joseph Halévy, the Turanians of Avesta and of Shâh Naméh were the Semites of Syria, because Syria was called Althura . . . Tura (C. E. Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens*, p. 49).

Turkic Peoples RL4

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For information on the Turkic Peoples of Afghanistan, see AU1 Afghanistan, 7: Jarring, category 116, complete text, with reference to the Index of Tribes and Peoples, pp. 84 - 91.

101 physically and culturally become Iranized. Considering
177 also that they settled in the country which already in the time of the *Avesta* bore the name Iran (as opposed to Turan), there is ample justification for calling them the *Iranian Turks.*

The other group consists of the Turks—many of them called Tatars—of the Steppe country, Southern Siberia, Jungaria, and Northern Mongolia, including the Altai and Sayan Mountains. Thanks to the geographical structure of the country, these Turks have been more shut off from foreign influence than the first group, though they have always been to a certain extent under obligations to the culture of China, and lately to that of Russia also. These may be called the *Turanian Turks.*

● 162 The Eastern Turks in Asiatic Russia number altogether some eight millions,[1] of which the Iranian Turks account for about six millions. The Iranian Turks form 92 per cent. of the population of Turkestan.
[177] Out of the 60 per cent. of Turkic population in the Caspian Steppe country, about one-third may be regarded as Iranized.

The Turanian Turks form an unimportant percentage among the Russian, Mongols, and Chinese in the midst of whom they live; their number in south-western

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[1] The statistics here given concerning the Turks of the Russian State are based on the census of 1897 and an additional local census of 1911. See *Asiatic Russia*, edited by the Immigration Committee, St. Petersburg, 1914, vol. I. It should be noted, however, that the later census shows an increase over the earlier one greater than can be accounted for by a natural increase in the birth-rate. This is probably due to the fact that the census of 1911 was carried out by more careful observers. It is more reliable as far as linguistic grouping goes, but its estimates of the number of people professing Russian Orthodoxy are less correct.

Siberia scarcely reaches half a million, and yet this is 162 the region which has been a centre of gravity for the old Turkic culture. So if for political interest we must look to the Iranian Turks, for ethnological problems we turn chiefly to these other Turks, who are the truest Turanians.

Language.

Preparatory to dealing with the separate nations of 000 which these two groups are composed, it will be necessary to pass in review the linguistic and religious position of all the Eastern Turks in Asia, for it seems that in many cases these two factors are the only guides by which we can arrive at the definition of a Turk.

According to Professor Beresin and the Turkic-Tatar 197 scholar Mirza Kasem Beg,[1] the Turkic or Turko-Tatar languages may be divided as follows:

1. Jagatai (Chagatai),
2. Tatar,
3. Turkish.

The Jagatai and Tatar languages, with their many dialects, have closer resemblances between themselves than either of them have with the Turkish. The Turkish language is used by the Western Turks, and consists of the following dialects:

(*a*) Derbent,
(*b*) Aberdjan (Azerbeijan),
(*c*) Crimean,
(*d*) Anatolian, } [Osmanly.]
(*e*) Rumelian (Constantinople). }

Of the other two, Jagatai appears to be the older, and

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[1] Mirza A. Kasem Beg, transl. Dr. J. T. Zenker, *Allgemeine Grammatik der Türkisch-Tatarischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1848, pp. xi–xiii.

asceticism.[1] In a way, they play the rôle of Calvinists 779
in the Mahometan world; on the other hand, the influence of Buddhism still remains in the towns, while in the mountains and steppes there still lives a strong animistic cult, sometimes intermixed with Mahometanism.

Mahometanism, though introduced among the upper [797]
classes in the tenth century, did not spread among the masses of Turkestan until the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and it is now known that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Christianity, especially Nestorian Christianity, was a great rival of Mahometanism in the western part of Turkestan.

The people of the eastern part of Turkestan, especially the Kirghis and various descendants of the Uigur, were never great adherents of Mahometanism. In general, it is the Sarts, the Usbegs, and the Tadjik who are the most devoted Mussulmans. Still, if we compare the [162] ●
number of Mahometans in Russian Central Asia in 1911 (8,223,982) with their number in 1897 (6,996,654), it appears that Mahometanism is still spreading in Turkestan, though its increase in Siberia is negligible (128,403 in 1911, against 126,587 in 1897). The nomads of the north-east—i. e. [177]
of Semirechie, Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, and Uralsk—have been but slightly affected by Mahometanism, and it is curious to know that some of the most Turkic sections of all the Eastern Turks, the Kaizak and the Kirghis, accepted it only after the Russian conquest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, assisted by the Russian officials! They still follow their customary law, *zang* (*'ādat* in Arabian), and if they give it up it is to accept, not the Mahometan written law, *sheriat*,

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[1] A. Vambéry, 'Muhammadanism in Asiatic Turkey', *E. R. E.*, 1915, pp. 885-8.

others form a chorus. The feathered thread is the road 796 by which the song rises to the sky. The meat which has been prepared on the 'senior fire' is taken out and carried round in a circle, in the direction of the sun. After that the meat, with all the articles used in its preparation, is burnt on the 'senior fire', and if the smoke goes straight to the sky it is a good omen for the clan. Then only is the meat which was prepared on the 'junior fire' ceremonially eaten, after which all the bones and remains of the feast have to be burnt on the 'senior fire'.[1]

Ethnography.

The Iranian Turks.

The question now arises, What Turkic nations go to 000 form the group of Iranian Turks?

THE TURKOMANS. Their number in Persia, Khiva, 162 and Bokhara is about 600,000. Of these 290,000 (in 1911, as against 248,000 in 1897) are in Transcaspian territory of Turkestan. Among the Turkomans subject to Russia must also be reckoned the Caucasian Turkomans, some 11,000.[2]

The Turkomans of Turkestan were subjugated by the 177 Russians in 1881 after a stubborn resistance. The Russians put a stop to their slave trade, and from that time they began to be more settled and to take up agriculture. But even now a large proportion are still 105 nomadic horse-breeders, adhering to the customary law

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[1] S. D. Maynagasheff, 'Sacrifice to the Sky among the Beltir', *Literary Collection of the Anthropological Museum of the Acad. of Science*, Petrograd, 1915, vol. III, pp. 93–102.

[2] The Turkomans of the Ottoman Empire, commonly called Turkmen or Avshahr, are not dealt with here.

105 (*ādat*). In religion they are now all Mahometans, in language they belong to the Jagatai Turks. Clan division is still fairly strict among them, and migrations are usually carried out in clans. Their custom of endogamy may be regarded as having as its object the preservation of the purity of their race from foreign admixture. Since the women are inferior in numbers to the men, the *kalym* or bride-price is very high, and in some places the unmarried men form 27 per cent. of the population. Their clans are nine in number, [618] two of them, however, being almost extinct. The chief clans are:

Chaudor, between Khiva and the Caspian;
Yomut, on the south shore of the Caspian, and in south-west Khiva;
Goklan, on Persian soil;
Akhal and *Merv Tekkes*, in the Akhal and Merv oases;
Sarik, on the middle Murgab;
Salor, round Merv and in northern Persia;
Ersari, on the middle Amu Daria, and near Khoya Salih.

[144] Though linguistically and politically classified as Turks, in all these people the Iranian type predominates, in culture as well as in physique.

● [162] THE SARTS (1,847,000 in 1911, as against 1,458,000 in 1897) live in the Ferghana and Syr Daria territories, and are also to be found sporadically in other parts of Turkestan.

[144] They are a mixture of the original Iranian inhabitants, the Tadjiks, with their Turanian conquerors, the Usbegs. In physical type they approach nearer to the Iranians. They live in villages, called *kishlak*, and their houses, called *sakla*, are made of a compound of wood and clay.

Though engaged chiefly in commerce, they are also successful agriculturists. They know the use of *aryk* or irrigation canals, and are reputed to be the best cultivators of cotton and fruit plantations. On the whole there is only one people who surpass them as agriculturists, namely the Tadjiks,[1] who are supposed to be pure Iranians. 105

The Sarts are Mahometans, Sunnites, many of them followers of the Sufi order. They adhere to the Mahometan written law (*sheriat*). They keep their women more strictly in seclusion than is the case among any other Turkic tribe. This is probably connected with the high degree of organization shown in their religious culture, which exceeds that of the other tribes. They have a great reverence for the Mussulman educational institutions usually to be found in connexion with the Sufi religious orders, and supported by public donations. There are three of these orders in Central Asia, the most ancient of them being in Ferghana. The educational institutions are divided into higher (*Medresse*) and lower (*Mektab*). Besides instruction in religious and legal subjects, the students are given some general knowledge based on mediaeval conceptions; thus Sart geography represents the world as being flat, and surrounded by mountains. In the lower [795] 871

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[1] The Tadjiks are the remnants of the old Aryan population of Central Asia, living chiefly in the Samarkand and Ferghana districts. In 1911 they numbered about 400,000, i. e. 67 per cent. of the total population. The Tadjiks living in the valleys and engaged in agriculture are now scarcely distinguishable in language and physique from their neighbours the Sarts, but the Mountain Tadjiks, or Galcha, are still using their Iranian language, and differ from the dark Turanians around them by reason of their light-coloured hair and skin. 144 162

In contrast to the origin of the Usbegs and the Kaizak 101
is the origin of the real Kirghis, by which is meant the Eastern or Yenisei Kirghis, called by the Russians the Burut-Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis. These have more right to be called Turanian Turks than the Kaizak, who may be said to stand between the two groups. They will therefore be dealt with under that head (Turanian).

The Kaizak live in the northern and eastern part of the Aral-Caspian basin, and in the Orenburg Steppes. Together with the Kara-Kirghis and some of the [162] ●
Yenisei Kirghis—i. e. all the people whom the Russians call Kirghis, and so include under one head in their census—they numbered 4,700,000 in 1911 as against 4,100,000 in 1897. Out of this total the non-Kaizak element may be reckoned at between 500,000 and 800,000 (in 1911).

The Kaizak say that they are sprung from the Usbegs, and that the Kara-Kirghis are sprung from dogs, but the Kara-Kirghis call themselves brothers of the Kaizak, and are in fact probably related to them, since the Kaizak have recruited themselves not only from the Usbegs but also from other Turkic states.

The Kaizak were divided by their Khan Tiavka in 619
the thirteenth century into three 'hordes', called Ordas. This was done for administrative purposes, but since the death of Tiavka the history of each orda runs independently.

The ordas are:

1. Ulugh-yūz (Ulu-jus) or Great Orda, living in the neighbourhood of the rivers Chu and Talas, and subdivided into the Abdan and Dolat tribes.
2. Urta-yūz (Urta-jus) or Middle Orda, living between the rivers Tobol and Irtish and the Syr Daria,

among the Seykym clan of the Kaizak, whose *uran* 618
is also 'Seykym'.

Though the Kaizak belong geographically to the 221
Iranized Turks, culturally they have on the whole 231
much affinity with the Mongols. The majority are still nomadic cattle and horse breeders. Their method of cattle-keeping is a most luxurious one. They leave the cattle on the pastures the whole year round, hence their only care is to find a fresh pasture every season. The spring and autumn pastures may be the same. It is only recently, since more of the land has been claimed by the Russian Immigration Committee, that the Kaizak have begun to lay up winter stores for their cattle. Each clan has defined limits to its pasture lands. Under the old Russian system the pasture land used by the Kaizak belonged to the State, and they were granted the use of it, dividing it at their communal gatherings according to the number of people, cattle, and vehicles
in each class. The permanent houses, gardens, arable [428]
land, and irrigation canals are hereditary.[1]

It is curious to note that the Kaizak, whose dwellings 764
are so light and portable, bury their dead in solid structures of wood, clay, and brick. This custom also exists among the Kara-Kirghis, and was known to the old Yenisei-Kirghis. As it is not found among the non-Turkic population of Central Asia, it seems to indicate that those who practise it now are perhaps the nearest relatives of the people who built the old burial mounds of the Yenisei, called *kurgans*.

The Kara-Kalpak ('Black Caps'), another Turkic 101
tribe of the same group (134,313 in 1911 as against 162 •
111,799 in 1897), live in the Amu Daria district of the

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[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, p. 159.

101 Syr Daria Territory, in the Kokand district of the
162 Ferghana Territory, and some 20,000 in the Khanate
of Khiva.

234 Half of them are settled agriculturists, the rest are
231 still nomad cattle-breeders, their pasture lands being,
however, more strictly fixed than among the Kaizak.
[197] Some of them are also engaged in trading. Of all the
Kirghis group their language is the most nearly related
to that of the Western Turks.[1]

101 This may be explained by the fact that they belong
174 to the stream of Turks who participated in the west-
ward migration some ten centuries ago.

Speaking of the origin of the Kara-Kalpak or Chornyie Klobuki, as they were called in Kieff-Russia, P. Golubowski[2] says that they were a mixture of Ghuz Turks, Pyechenyeg, and others, and that they formed that remnant of the Ghuz Turks who remained in Russia when the new wave of Turkic invaders from Asia—the Polovtsy—drove the other part of their tribe across the Danube. The remnants of the Ghuz, together, possibly, with other Turks, settled on the Russian borderlands, accepted Christianity, and were known as the Kara-Klobuk (Kara-Kalpak), while some of them moved back to Asia, and, according to V. Moshkoff, about 70,000 of them live until now in Bessarabia under the name of Ghaghauzy (Gagauzy).[3] Whether the Kara-Kalpak not living in Asia are the same as the Kara-

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[1] A. Maksimoff, 'The Kara-Kalpak', vol. XXIII, p. 454, of the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, ed. Jeleznoff.

[2] *The Pyechenyegi, the Torki and the Polovtsy until the Tatar Invasion*, Kieff, 1884, p. 151.

[3] V. Moshkoff, *Examples of the Folk-Literature of the Turkic Tribes*, St. Petersburg, 1904, p. xxii.

101 to their geographical distribution: the 'Baraba Tatars', the 'Altaians', the 'Abakan Tatars', and so on.

● [162] The *Yakut*, who are now the northernmost branch of Turkic-speaking people, live along the River Lena right up to the Arctic shore, and in the region between the Lena and the Yenisei as far south as Lake Baikal. They are superior in numbers to all the 'Siberian Tatars' taken together. In 1911 they numbered 245,000, as against 225,000 in 1897, while the 'Tatars' numbered 208,000 in 1911, plus some 4,000 people classed by the Russian officials as 'Turks of undefined nationality', as against 175,000 in 1897, plus some 3,000 'Turks of undefined nationality'.[1]

233 [178] Under the influence of their new environment[2] the Yakut have been driven to take up reindeer-breeding and a nomadic tundra life, but in their social and religious institutions survivals of the more settled conditions of their southern home are still to be seen.[3]

Of all the Turks of Asia the Yakut are the most typical representatives of what may be spoken of as 'reindeer-culture'.[4] The reindeer is to this region what the horse is to the Central Asian steppe-nomads. It supplies food, clothes, bone-implements, and is used for draught work. But while the people who have been living for a long time at the stage of reindeer-culture, such as the Koryak of the north-east or the Samoyed of the north-west, never use reindeer for riding, the Yakut ride their reindeer as their ancestors rode the horse, a practice which is looked upon with disfavour

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[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, pp. 79–80.

[2] See p. 41.

[3] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 1914, pp. 107, 277, 297.

[4] B. Laufer, 'The Reindeer and its Domestication', *Mem. of the Amer. Anthrop. Assoc.*, vol. IV, No. 2, 1917.

Hazara AU5
Turkic Peoples RL4

A While they are more primi-
464 tive and intellectually inferior to the ruling Afghans, they are physi-
701 cally very sturdy and brave, and their honest and simple natures,
free from all fanaticism, give them an attractive personality. Those
H who have taken service in the Indian army and in railroad con-
463 struction are almost as highly spoken of as the Gurkhas of Nepal,
142 whom they also resemble physically. Outside of their own mountain
181 fastnesses in the Hazarajat, where they are today relatively undisturbed, they supply most of the unskilled labor for road building etc., and their position differs but little from that of serfs. In the Afghan army they have been organized into several battalions of sappers and miners.

H Aside from their distinctly Mongolian type the Hazaras—at least
144 the western clans—may be readily recognized by their small conical
291 headdress of bright-colored calico, lined with fur or sheepskin which forms a fringe around the edge.

F. CHAHAR AYMAKS (250,000).

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162 These are four semipastoral tribes of northwestern Afghanistan
T closely related to the Hazaras, but belonging to the Sunni persua-
101 sion. Like the Hazaras they are of pure Tartar or Mongolian origin
144 and possess all the physical and mental attributes of their kinsmen
795 further to the south. But being less numerous and less fiercely independent than the Hazaras they never had to suffer so much at the
197 hands of the central government, especially as they appear to have become Sunnis (with some exceptions) at an early period. They speak either Turki or Persian dialects, and even a mixture of both.

A (a) The *Taimanis* (160,000) are the most numerous of these four
162 tribes. They occupy the Ghorat, i. e., the mountains between the
T Hari Rud and the Ghor, where the medieval Kingdom of Ghor
● 162 (10th–13th centuries A. D.) must have been located. They are not
211 exclusively nomads, but also cultivators of the soil. Intermarriage
117 has slightly modified the original Mongolian type. Their dress is more like that of the Tajiks than the Hazaras, and they wear the
101 turban. Their language is largely Turki.

(b) *Firozkohis* (50,000) roam the entire watershed of the Murghab River, north of the Band-i-Baba Range. They are said to have come from the Firoz-koh mountain (near Samnan, in North Persia) although they look more Mongolian than the other Aymaks. They speak Persian and wear a turban like the Uzbegs.

(c) *Jamshedis* (20,000) are found in the district of Badghis, between the Hari Rud and the Russian frontier. They have a reputation for intelligence, honesty, and good horsemanship. Although they dress like the Uzbegs and speak Turki they differ from them by wearing the sheepskin hat.

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(d) *Taimuris* (15,000) are an unimportant tribe, a large section of whom migrated to Persian Khorassan, where there are now fully as many as in Afghanistan. They speak Persian and many of them are Shiahs.

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G. UZBEGS (750,000).

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The Uzbegs are the principal inhabitants of the provinces of Afghan Turkestan and Badakshan. They are called *Turkmen* by the other Afghans and are a pure Tartar race, like the Turkomans of the rest of Central Asia. Their language is Turki and they differ from their kinsmen in Transoxiana only in that they wear a small turban instead of the sheepskin hat of the Turkomans proper. They wear long, many-colored striped coats and high knee-boots of untanned leather. Most of the Afghan cavalry is recruited from them.

H. KIZILBASHIS (100,000).

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Though numerically not one of the great tribes of Afghanistan the Kizilbashis (lit. "Red-Heads") are an influential element. The term was formerly applied as a nickname by the orthodox Sunnis to all Persians in Anatolia and Central Asia, presumably because of red caps they wore. In Afghanistan the name has become almost synonymous with *Shiah.* The Kizilbashis were originally natives of North Persia and only came to Afghanistan with the armies of Nadir Shah in 1737. Some 25,000 of them are still found in the city of Kabul alone, where they occupy the Chandawal quarter, the most prosperous looking part of the town. The rest of the tribe are found in some of the villages of the province of Kabul and of the Ghazni district. Although they have Tartar features they have ceased to be a pure race by intermarrying freely with other tribes. They are known for their intelligence and education, and—not unlike the Greeks and Armenians before their expulsion from Asia Minor—they supply most of the men with professional training or skill. Positions of secretaries, clerks, and interpreters, or of foremen and overseers, are usually held by them, and they even occasionally rise to high office in the government service. Curiously enough they also make excellent soldiers and—with the Uzbegs—furnish much of the Amir's best cavalry. Their position is all the more remarkable because they are handicapped by being Shiahs and therefore disliked by the ruling classes.

I. KAFIRS (70,000).

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This interesting tribe is in a class by itself, having practically no ties of either race or religion with the other inhabitants of the country. They are wild, semibarbarous mountaineers inhabiting a

101 among the Kirei, who had meanwhile become to some extent Mongolized.[1]

To the south-west of the Kirei, in Kulja and in the western part of Chinese Turkestan, on the slopes of the Tian-Shan, live remnants of various Turanian Turks, sometimes called *Kashgarians*, many of whom are perhaps the direct descendants of the old Uigur, and possibly have also a strain of the pre-Turkic Aryan population of which traces are still to be found in Central Asia. In language, and probably in physical [779] type, they are among the purest Turanians. Most of them, especially those who are Chinese subjects, are Mahometans. They are chiefly cattle-breeders. Such are the *Yerlik*, the *Kashgarlik*, and the *Yetisherlik*. Those subject to Russia number some 54,000 (in 1911). [178] Since the great upheaval caused by the conquests of Jinghis Khan, and the migrations which followed, these people have remained stationary to a degree impossible anywhere but in the heart of the Asiatic continent, but it is not impossible that under a helpful and sympathetic government all of them, whether Russian or Chinese subjects, might awake to play their part in the future history of Asia.

The country to the east of the region occupied by the Chern 'Tatars' or Altaians, and to the south of that occupied by the Abakan 'Tatars', i.e. that part of the Yeniseisk Government between the Sayan Mountains and the Tannu Ola range, is called Uriankhai, and its 100,000 inhabitants are usually grouped together under the same name, Uriankhai, sometimes in its 167 Chinese form, *Uriangut*. The northern part of the country, along the River Ussa, began to be colonized

by the Russians in 1856, and was practically annexed 167 by them in 1886. The whole country became almost independent of China after Mongolia declared its independence in 1914, and the old Russian Government, intending to occupy this rich pasture land, had begun to colonize it energetically. This aroused some opposition among the natives, who, having scarcely felt their dependence on China, were not prepared to give up their best lands to the Russian Colonization Committee. Many Uriankhai have for the last three years been moving in clan order, with all their herds, into the steppes of Northern Mongolia. This is, in fact, the most recent *en masse* migration in Central Asia. It has ceased, however, since the Russian Revolution, owing to the influence exercised by Siberian scholars and public men, such as G. Potanin and A. Adrianoff, in the protection of the rights of the natives.[1]

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[1] While Vambéry and Cahun reckon the Kirei as Turks, Skrine and Ross reckon them as Mongols. See note to p. 72.

The Uriankhai are sometimes called *Soyot* (sing. 101 *Soyan*, from the clan-name *Saya*). But it is not certain whether this name ought to be applied to all of them. The name by which they call themselves in the North is *Tuba*.

According to the East Turkic scholar Katanoff, the 147 language of the Uriankhai is Turko-Tatar,[2] but of 144 course they are now mixed to a great extent with the Mongols. It must be remembered that Castrén and some of his followers are inclined to see in the Uriankhai members of the original Samoyed-Yeniseian race, who mixed with the Turks and adopted a Turkic language.[3]

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[1] See articles in *Sibirskaya Jisn*, Feb. 26, 1916, May 3, 1917.

[2] E. K. Yakovleff, *Ethnographical Survey of the Native Population of the Valley of Southern Yenisei*, Minusinsk, 1900, p. 18.

[3] M. A. Castrén, *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*, vol. IV, pp. 83-6; D. Carruthers, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 20, 52-5, 200; vol. V, pp. 116-17.

618 of throwing light on their racial relationships ought to be welcomed.

[619] How complicated their tribal and clan subdivisions are is seen in the following table given by the Kaizak ethnologist Mustafa Chokayeff, to explain his own standing in the Kaizak nation.[1] He belongs to—

Turkic race,
Kaizak nation,
Middle orda,
Kipchak tribe,
Toru-aibgyr clan,
Shashli sub-clan,
Boshai branch (in Russian *kolieno*),
Janay sub-branch (*podkolieno*).

The *tamga* may be regarded as the symbol of a sub-clan (*tayfa* among the Kaizak, *kyrk* among the Kirghis), a group of families affiliated by blood, because it is such groups which usually live together, and whose live stock, whether reindeer, horses, or dromedaries, are marked by this symbol. The *tamga* appears also on their various belongings, as well as on the graves of deceased members of the clan.

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•172 The antiquity of these symbols can be judged from the fact that they are to be seen on the old Nestorian monuments, and on the monument to Khan Kul-Tegin in the valley of the Orkhon, on which the inscriptions are in old Turkic characters, dating from 732 A.D.[2] Those who boldly derive the old Turkic written

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[1] A. N. Samoylovich, 'Prohibited words in the vocabulary of a married woman among the Kaizak', *L. A. T.*, vols. I–II, 1915, p. 162.

[2] N. A. Aristoff, *Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition*, &c., 1894, p. 410; N. Mallitski, *On the connection between the Turkic 'tamga' and the Orkhon characters*, 1897–8, p. 43.

character from the clan *tamgas* would of course claim 618
greater antiquity than that of Orkhon and Yenisei 172 ●
inscriptions.

According to tradition, the *tamga* was introduced 618
among the Kaizak by their Khan Tiavka, because the 531
Kaizak of his time were so rich in cattle that some device of this kind was necessary for the identification of the various herds. Some think that the origin of the *tamga* is to be sought in Mongolia, but as a matter of fact it occurs among the Turks no less frequently than among the Mongols and Tungus, because the custom of marking cattle is natural and common to most pastoral people. As may be expected, the pastoral Turks, such as the Kaizak and some of the Kirghis, have the *tamga* system much more highly developed than have the sedentary part of the Kirghis, the Altaians, and the forest and mountain Turks generally. Being either hunters or agriculturists, they have less need of the *tamga* for practical purposes. The study of the *tamgas* gives in many cases a clue to the composition of the tribe; for example, among the Kaizak there are to be found *tamgas* of various Turkic tribes of Asia, either in their original form or as composite signs, thus proving conclusively the mixed origin of that people.[1]

It is difficult to ascertain how far the *tamga* corresponds to a totem. Some *tamgas* seem to represent merely geometric designs: the Naïman clans had as their favourite *tamga* an angle, the Kirei use a square. Some of the Kaizak of the Middle Orda have *tamgas* representing a 'bird's rib' (*urdas bii*), a comb (*tarak*), and a forked stick (*selak*). Sometimes, however, the

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[1] Aristoff, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

Archaeology.

● 172 Special attention is now being given by scholars to the archaeological remains of Turan, especially to those of Southern Siberia and Northern Mongolia. Although it is only recently that organized investigations have been carried out, they were already known to the early Russian travellers, for some mention of them is made by Witsen, who visited this region in 1692, while the next traveller, Dr. Messerschmidt (1720), speaks of the existence among the Russian settlers of the 'industry' of plundering the old graves for the sake of the iron, bronze and particularly gold objects found in them. The men engaged in this, called *bugrovshchiki*, would organize parties of between two and three hundred, and start on their expedition in the 'season of the hunter', i. e. in the spring, and return with their plunder in the autumn, living during the winter on the proceeds.

The fame of this old metal-work reached Peter the Great—the same emperor who, as the legend runs, used to summon Siberian shamans to his court. He issued a Ukaz prohibiting plundering, and ordered the local officials to purchase such objects. Though a certain number of them have thus been saved for European museums, plundering had not ceased even in the summer of 1915, when the author saw old bronze and iron in common use among the Russian settlers.

The early travellers give merely descriptive accounts, and archaeological investigations did not begin until the nineteenth century. Among those whose energies have been thus employed are such earnest workers as Radloff, Aspelin, Klements, Yadrintseff, Adrianoff, Tallgren, and Granö.

To pass now to a short review of these antiquities. Though they consist chiefly of metal cultures, some mention must be made of the pre-metal remains.

There are remnants of Stone Age stations along the southern Yenisei and its tributaries, between Krasnoyarsk and Minusinsk, but nearer to Krasnoyarsk than to Minusinsk. According to Adrianoff[1] they may be ascribed to the Neolithic period, but another Russian scholar, Savyenkoff, would place them in the Palaeolithic period.[2] It seems, however, fairly certain that although some of the implements found by Savyenkoff in Bazaikha, on Mount Afontova near Krasnoyarsk, and in other places, may be of Palaeolithic type (according to the catalogue of the Peter the Great Museum in Petrograd they are of Mousterian and Aurignacian types), the stations are more accurately described as Neolithic. Many of them might be called kitchen-middens. In any case the Stone Age remains lie outside the scope of this essay, though stone implements have been found together with the bronze, copper, and gold objects of the succeeding age, and even with objects of the Iron Age.

Burial-mounds, called kurgans, are spread in hundreds and thousands from the River Irtish to the River Orkhon. Judging from the objects found in these kurgans they belong either to the Bronze or to the Iron Age. Connected with the kurgans are the stone figures called by the Russians *baby* (sing. *baba*), and by the Turkic natives *koyotash*, and also the stone memorial tablets covered with inscriptions in the Old Turkic language, called Uigur, many of which have now been deciphered. Independently of these inscriptions, there are on the cliffs and rocks of this region traces of pictographic writings, so far uninterpreted.[1] Russian investigators call the Old Turkic characters 'runic inscriptions', and the pictographs *pisanitsy*. In addition to all this, there are remnants of irrigation canals, copper-mines, and fortresses, these last called by the natives *shibe*.

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[1] A. V. Adrianoff, *Sketches of the Minusinsk Country*, 1904.

[2] I. T. Savyenkoff, *The Stone Age in the Minusinsk Country*, 1896, and *The Palaeolithic Epoch in the Neighbourhood of Krasnoyarsk*, 1892.

Generally speaking, all these antiquities of the Metal Ages, known by the Russians under the vague appellations of 'Chud' or 'Tuba' remains, fall into two groups:

1. Remains of the Bronze Age, including copper and gold objects, the burial masks, the remnants of mines, and some of the pictographs.
2. Remains of the Iron Age, with which must be reckoned the stone memorial tablets with inscriptions, the stone figures, and the remnants of fortresses.

The Bronze Age of this region is divided by Tallgren[2] into the following periods:

I. Period dating (possibly from about 3000 B.C.) to 1000 B.C. No kurgans of this period are yet known. Chief implements: daggers, light spears, and socketed celts. Ornament purely geometric.

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[1] N. S. Voronyeis, 'Rock Pictures found on the frontier of Turgai and Syr Daria Territories along the River Lack-Pay', *Russ. Anthr. J.*, 1916, Nos. iii and iv, pp. 57-61; A. V. Adrianoff, 'Preliminary Information regarding the Pisanitsy collected in the Minusinsk Country in summer 1907', *Bull. Russ. Committee*, 1908, No. viii, p. 37.

[2] A. M. Tallgren, *Collection Tovostine*, Helsingfors, 1917, p. 20.

II. Period dating between 1000 and 500 B.C. No kurgans of this period are yet known. Chief implements: socketed double-looped celts, daggers, knives in great number. Ornament partly geometric, partly zoomorphic. Figures of animals as handles of daggers.

III. Period after 500 B.C. Kurgans, or burial-places surrounded by quadrangular stones. Ornament chiefly zoomorphic; towards the end of the period vegetable ornament appears. Contact with Scythian art is strongly noticeable.

The majority of the bronze objects found in this region belong to the third period. Here also must be placed the collection of knives of various shapes almost unknown in Scythia. A common type is a knife with a well-formed ring at the end, recalling the Chinese knife which degenerated into the round copper 'cash', but to the same period belongs a type of dagger with a heart-shaped guard, reminiscent of the Scythic dagger of Eastern Europe.

As far as the Iron Age is concerned, its place is usually defined by the dates of the historical events mentioned in the inscriptions. The greater number of the graves of this period are estimated to belong to the time between the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. But the Iron Age must have started much earlier, as we know from the Chinese histories that in the second century B.C. the Hiung-nu, then living to the north of the Chinese, were using iron implements.[1] Judging from the forms of the implements, the early Iron Age

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[1] A. V. Adrianoff, *Sketches of the Minusinsk Country*, p. 5.

● 172 of this region seems to be a continuation of the Bronze Age in another material. It is only in the late Iron period that new forms appear,[1] and hence it is probable that while the early Iron was evolved by the people responsible for the Bronze culture, the late Iron culture may have been brought by some new-comers, possibly, though not necessarily, of another race.

The honour of having first deciphered the Old Turkic inscriptions belongs to the Danish scholar Professor Vilhelm Thomsen, of Copenhagen,[2] working in 1893, and the investigation was continued by Professor Wilhelm Radloff of Petrograd[3] from 1894 onwards.

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212 The Yenisei inscriptions are chiefly funeral tributes to deceased Khans or *Khagans* of the 'Kyrgys' (Kirghis); those of the River Orkhon in North-West Mongolia, which, judging from the more finished form of the writing, are of later date, contain historical and ethnographical information, and are ascribed to the Tu-kiu. Thus our knowledge of the Turanian Turks, which has been obtained by analysing the often confusing annals

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[1] W. W. Radloff, 'Siberian Antiquities', *Materials for the Archaeology of Russia*, St. Petersburg, 1888, 1891, 1894, 1902; *Aus Sibirien*, vol. II, chap. vii; F. R. Martin, *L'Âge du bronze au musée de Minoussinsk*, Stockholm, 1893; D. A. Klements, *Antiquities of the Minusinsk Museum. The Remains of the Metal Ages*, Tomsk, 1886; I. P. Kuznietsoff-Krasnoyarski, *The Minusinsk Antiquities, Copper, Bronze, and Transitional Periods*, Tomsk, 1908; J. R. Aspelin, *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien*, Helsingfors, 1877.

[2] *Inscriptions de l'Iénissei recueillies et publiées par la Société Finlandaise d'Archéologie*, 1889; *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon recueillies par l'expédition finnoise 1890 et publiées par la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, 1892; V. Thomsen, 'Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées', *Mém. Soc. Fin.-Ougr.*, V; N. Yadrintseff, *Ancient Monuments and Inscriptions in Siberia*, Literary Collection, 1885.

[3] W. W. Radloff, P. Melioranski, &c., *Collection of Documents of the Orkhon Expedition*, 1897.

of Chinese historians, has been amplified, and difficult 172
points to some extent cleared up, by the interpretation 212
of these inscriptions.

The older type of inscriptions is engraved; the later type is written on the stone, in some cases even in colours, but the art of using colours was apparently introduced by the Mongols and the Chinese. The Orkhon inscriptions are bilingual, the second language being Chinese.

The richest collections of objects of both Bronze and 172
Iron cultures are to be found in the Minusinsk Museum, [217]
and in the Petrograd and Moscow Museums. Next to these come the Museums of Tomsk and Krasnoyarsk. The beginning of the excavation of the kurgans dates from about 1881; among the last thorough investigations are those of A. M. Tallgren (1915) in the Minusinsk region, and of A. V. Adrianoff in the Uriankhai country.

Several attempts have been made to classify the various types of kurgans. Radloff[1] distinguishes as many as ten types; these, however, are not sufficiently clearly differentiated to admit of their being referred to ten distinct cultures. A broader division, based on the more apparent external differences between them, is into two groups. The graves of the first group have their surface level with the surface of the ground, and are surrounded by quadrangular stone slabs. They are usually associated with the Bronze culture, and the implements they contain are such as would be characteristic of a more or less settled population. The graves of the second group are covered with a raised mound, and are often surrounded by high slabs of stone resembling monoliths, which sometimes reach a height

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[1] W. W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, vol. II, pp. 68-143.

172 of ten feet. These graves are usually associated with the Iron Age, and contain a large number of weapons of war. To the former type may be added the large mounds, called by the local natives *Chaa-tas*, which are collective graves, but usually contain one grave situated a little apart from the others, and showing much more finished workmanship. Graves of the first type are found especially on the banks of the upper Yenisei, and in the Abakan and Minusinsk Steppes. Graves of the second type occur in the basins of the Irtish and the Tobol, and also side by side with those of the first type in the Abakan and Minusinsk Steppes, so that the classification cannot be pressed too far. Until further investigations provide sufficient ground for making a more detailed division, Tallgren, following Castrén and Aspelin, proposes to keep to this dual grouping.[1]

It is not possible in this essay to go into further details with regard to the archaeology of this region, but, accepting the conclusions of the archaeologists, an endeavour will be made to trace the course of culture contact during the Bronze and Iron Ages, beginning with a consideration of the question how far the Siberian culture can be compared with similar cultures of corresponding periods elsewhere.

As we know, the kurgans of the later, i.e. the Iron Period, are not confined to these regions, but stretch all along Southern and Central Russia, Lithuania, and Poland, as far as the Vistula. Yet the kurgans of the Irtish-Orkhon region have their own characteristic features, which permit of their being treated separately.

As to the other centres of the Bronze culture, the Kama-Ural centre is sometimes considered to be the prolongation of the Minusinsk centre. But Tallgren, after comparing the objects found in both regions, comes to the conclusion that the two groups are quite independent, and that what features they have in common are due to the fact that they were both influenced by the same civilization from the south and west.[1] E. H. Minns lays stress on the resemblance between the Bronze culture of Minusinsk and that of the Scythians.[2] While agreeing with Minns that the resemblance is considerable, Tallgren sees also a great difference, namely, that the Iranian influence coming from Turkestan at that time was stronger in Turan than in Scythia. In any case it is not the Scythian bronze that influenced the Minusinsk bronze, but rather the reverse.[3]

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[1] Tallgren, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

Just as the late Professor Donner looked upon the region of the ancient Sogdia, Bactris, and Iran as possibly hiding the earliest form of the Yenisei inscriptions, Tallgren looks upon it as the place where the Bronze culture of Minusinsk originated. From this archaeological evidence it would seem that the people of Turan took their knowledge of bronze-working from

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[1] Tallgren, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[2] Ellis H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 241: 'The resemblances between the culture I have called Scythic and that of the early inhabitants of Siberia . . . are so great that it is impossible to treat the archaeology of South Russia without touching that of Siberia.' Thus Minns approaches the question of the Siberian remains from the study of Scythic remains, while Tallgren adopts the opposite method of taking the Minusinsk culture as the standard and comparing the other with it. This is the method that I have tried to follow in ethnographical questions, for it is always safer to define the Asiats in Asia before attempting to define the Asiats who invaded Europe. Recently a book appeared (J. Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*, Leipzig, 1917) which on its purely archaeological merit deserves to be placed next to Tallgren's and Minns's valuable contributions, but the tendency of the author is strikingly Pan-German, and this prevents him from confining the subject within its proper geographical limits.

[3] Tallgren, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

Iranian Turkestan, and developed it themselves. The Chinese influence, which was so powerful in the Iron Age, is not so noticeable in the Bronze Age. Thus, for instance, zinc, which enters into the composition of the bronze implements of Minusinsk,[1] does not occur in the bronze of China.[2] One of the most remarkable resemblances emphasized by Tallgren is that between the Minusinsk bronze and the products of the La Tène Celtic civilization. This is especially significant in the decorative motives, such as the geometrical patterns and the form of the handles of daggers.[3]

A few words must be said about the attempts at the representation of human figures in this old culture of the Minusinsk region. While geometric, zoomorphic, and, later on, plant ornament reaches a high stage of development, representations of the human form are rare and obscure. In the Bronze Age we find scarcely any. One of the few which were found forms the handle of a knife, and recalls a human figure now in the collection of the British Museum. Perhaps the most successful attempts at giving an idea of the human face are the burial masks found in some kurgany associated with the late Bronze Age, especially the gypsum casts.

Even during the Iron Age little progress is made in this form of ornamentation, but from this era onwards we have numerous stone figures, whose object is probably the same as that of the masks of the earlier period, namely, to picture the dead person. The figures, some 172 ● of which reach a height of three to four feet, are made of rude stone blocks, and almost all of them are characterized by the curious position of the hands, clasping in front a cup, or cup-like object. While the general appearance of the figure is highly conventionalized, the faces differ greatly. They are of both sexes; in fact the female sex predominates. Only some of them show Mongolian traits. Stone figures of similar appearance are found in Southern Russia, where they coincide with the belt known for its Scythic remains. These, however, are of much later date, since we know that some of the Turkic tribes who invaded Russia before the time of Jinghis Khan, such, for instance, as the Polovtsy (Cumans), were in the habit of erecting such figures.[1] Though the custom of placing a small wooden 172 figure of the deceased on the grave is known to many 764 Turkic and Finnic tribes in Siberia, these old stones are taken by the modern natives for images of gods, and sacrifices are often offered to them.

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[1] H. Struwe, 'Analyse verschiedener antiken Bronzen und Eisen aus Abakan und Jenissei', *Bull. I. A. S.*, St. Petersburg, 1866, X, pp. 282–9; Brandenburg and Ivanowski, *Transactions of the Commission for the Chemical Technical Analysis of Ancient Bronze*, St. Petersburg, 1882.

[2] Tallgren, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

The burial masks have, so far as is known at present, a very limited distribution. They have been found on Tagara Island quite close to Minusinsk, and at a spot about sixty versts to the south-east (Salt Lake).[2] Altogether not more than twenty masks are known from this region. But some have been found also in the Graeco-Scythic tombs of the Crimea at Glinishche. The masks are either white or coloured, and are found associated with the skull, or, in cases where the

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[1] Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

[2] K. I. Goroshchenko, 'Burial masks of gypsum and a special type of trepanation in the Kurgans of the Minusinsk District', *Bull. of Tenth Arch. Congress in Riga*, 1896, p. 4.

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skull is missing, separately on a specially erected stone slab. In some cases it seems likely that the masks had been broken or partially burnt, together with other objects belonging to the dead person. In one kurgan at Salt Lake we find, besides the plaster covering the skull, clay and gypsum covering the first five vertebrae also; in this case the mask has not been taken from the face of the deceased, but covers the skull on a foundation of clay moulded to imitate the features. Thus we have to deal with two types of mask in this region. One is a plaster cast of gypsum, taken from the face of the deceased by the modern method of making a mould and taking a cast from it. Such masks are typical of the kurgans of Tagara Island, and are associated with the custom of burning the body and burying the ashes, or of burying the whole corpse in a standing position. The ashes are often buried alongside of the skull and the mask, and obviously the mask must have been taken immediately after death.

The other type, found in the kurgans called *Chaa-tas*, or communal kurgans, near the Salt Lake, is, properly speaking, not a mask but an artificial reconstruction of the face of the deceased superimposed upon the skeleton. This type is connected with the custom of burying the skeleton in a standing position,[1] and it must be supposed, therefore, that after death the corpse was left either outside the kurgan or in a temporary grave until the flesh had completely disappeared from the bones.[2] And indeed this custom corresponds to what we know from Chinese and Greek writers about the burial customs of the old Turks. 'If a man die in spring or summer they wait for the leaves to fall, if in autumn or winter they wait for leaves and flowers to come out. Then they dig a ditch and bury him.'[1] In fact, in the difficult task of disentangling the Hiung-nu (Turks) and the Tung-hu (Tungus) tribes in the Chinese annals, one of the safest guides is the burial customs of these peoples, since the Tung-hu buried their dead, as they do sometimes now, on a high platform, while the Hiung-nu left the body in the tent or outside the tent for a long time. To this custom is due the fact that so few kurgans include the complete skeleton. The frequent absence of the skull, where the mask replaces it, may, however, be explained by the custom of keeping the skull among the living as a memento.

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[1] Goroshchenko, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Moreover, the fact that some of the skulls found in the same communal kurgans have undergone post-humous trepanning in the region of the temple suggests that the skull was not left for the flesh on it to decay naturally, but that artificial means were employed to prepare it for the final burial ceremony. After the skull had been thus cleaned of all its soft tissues, all the openings were plugged with clay, and then the features of the face were reconstructed. In most cases a layer of clay covers the calvaria also. Sometimes a coating of gypsum is put on the top of the clay.

The artificial method of cleaning the skull and then reconstructing the features, so well known among various primitives of Melanesia and, as has been pointed out to me by Mr. Henry Balfour, also of Mexico, might very well be taken for the genuine custom of the aborigines of the country, which were doubtless of Turkic race, while the more refined

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[1] Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

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gypsum casts may have been introduced by the people who brought the Bronze culture to this region. In support of the first part of this statement it is worthy of mention that Father Bichurin, whose translations of the Chinese annals have been made use of extensively in this investigation, says that a people living in Southern Mongolia, and possibly contemporary with the construction of these kurgans, had the custom of 'tearing off the skin from the dead', which seems to be a direct reference to this second mode of burial as being prevalent in Central Asia.[1]

Goroshchenko, the Siberian anthropologist to whose thorough study of the osteology of the kurgans the author is indebted, thinks that the masks of the Chaa-tas type developed out of the casts of the Tagara type. But if we consider the archaeological remains there seems to be very little to show the difference in age between these two groups of kurgans, both of them differing from other Bronze Age kurgans in this, that they include both bronze and iron implements.[2] They should therefore be ascribed to the late Bronze Age type.

There is no doubt that the clear and refined features of the masks of the Tagara type, some of which can be seen in the Helsingfors and Moscow Museums, approach the 'Aryan' type—to retain this unsatisfactory but convenient term—while the masks of the Chaa-tas, with broader face and coarse features, approach the Mongolian type. But it is possible that the difference is merely superficial, and is explained by the different

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[1] Father Jakinth Bichurin, *Collection of Information concerning Peoples living in Central Asia*, vol. III, pp. 197-9.

[2] K. I. Goroshchenko, *Skulls from the Kurgans of the Minusinsk District*, 1900, pp. 8-9.

method of construction. The face as reconstructed on 172
a skull would naturally be coarser than the mask taken 764
from a face, unless of course the constructor were a master more skilled in the moulding of human features than was the man of the Bronze Age of Minusinsk.

It is noteworthy that the craniometric measurements 141
of skulls found in these kurgans do not give us evidence 172
to support the theory of two distinct physical races. The results of these measurements are summed up by Goroshchenko as follows:[1] that the type of these skulls shows great uniformity with that of other Bronze Age skulls, that they resemble the skulls of the older kurgans of the Moscow Government, and that they do not correspond with any measurements of skulls on living people of the modern population of this region, whether Mongol or Turk. The most striking feature of these skulls is their long-headedness. Out of 96 skulls of the kurgans of the Minusinsk region, 42 were dolichocephalic and 21 sub-dolichocephalic.[2]

This brings us to this most unsettled problem: the 000
definition of the physique of the Turks of Central Asia.

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[1] Goroshchenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 30. The measurements of the male skulls of the two groups of kurgans where the masks were found give the following result (Table II):

Cephalic Index.

Tagara Kurgans	74.6	(16 measurements)
Chaa-tas	73.2	(13 „)

Horizontal Circumference.

Tagara Kurgans	522	(18 measurements)
Chaa-tas	527	(14 „)

Altitudinal (Height) Index.

Tagara Kurgans	76	(6 measurements)
Chaa-tas	72.5	(10 „)

on the Altaians, published in 1881,[1] he says that many 142 Altaians who have as yet had no contact with the colonists resemble in their type the Caucasians (Aryans). Blue eyes, chestnut and fair hair, and non-prominent cheek-bones are often met with, especially among the Kumandints.[2] And yet no record is known that the 144 Aryans ever spread as far as the Altai Mountains; on the other hand, we know of the close association of the Turkic race with this region. The only plausible suggestion, therefore, is that the prehistoric contact of the Turks and Aryans, which brought the knowledge of bronze to Turan, affected the physical type of the Asiatic Turks just as it affected their nomad life, leading them to settle down to agriculture.

When remains of two archaeological periods are 172 found in one place the popular conclusion is that the later culture was brought to that place by the later comers. For a long time the archaeology of the Minusinsk district was treated in accordance with this rule. The Bronze period of the region was ascribed to some local autochthonous people. They were said to be peaceful, since there are hardly any weapons among the remains of this period. From the abundant remains of implements connected with agriculture and mining they were put down as agriculturists and miners, and finally they were described as democratic, because we find at that time communal graves and graves of common people generally, while in the Iron Age it is mostly the chiefs who enjoyed the privilege of burial in a kurgan. On the other hand, the Iron Age people were supposed

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[1] N. M. Yadrintseff, 'On the Altaians and the Chern Tatars', *Bull. I. R. G. S.*, 1881.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

172 to have been warlike nomads, who left behind them many weapons of war, who lived on their horses, and who were more or less like the nomad Scythians of the Greeks. The Bronze Age people are often set down as Finno-Samoyedic, or vaguely as Palaeo-Yeniseians, while the Iron Age people are set down as Turks. But a closer study of the region shows that the problem is not yet solved, and it may be stated as follows: Were the Bronze Age people quite different from the Iron Age people, and what is the relation of either or both of them to the remnants of the Turanians now living in this region?

The solution of this problem has usually been sought by the historical method of investigation, that is to say, by quoting disconnected facts obtained from free translations of the Chinese writers, who could not, of course, have a very intimate acquaintance with regions so far away. Again, in dealing with the present natives it has usually been linguistic considerations that have been taken as a basis for determining racial affinities.[1] But with all respect to the Chinese annals (which may perhaps one day be given to Europe in a full and authoritative translation), it would seem that as we are now able to read the history of these people from their archaeology and from their own inscriptions, it is possible to adopt an archaeological method, and to compare the results thus obtained with those arrived at by ethnological research. This provides a means of checking the work done by the historical method.

We have no direct information from the Chinese or any other sources as to the Bronze Age people of this region having been overrun by steppe nomads belonging to the Age of Iron. Archaeological evidence proves that the first period of the Iron Age evolved naturally out of the Age of Bronze, while the fact that the second period of the Iron Age is, as it were, interrupted by a new influx of Iron civilization—possibly owing to an invasion—does not necessarily mean that the invaders were of quite different race; they may have been of the same race but of more pastoral habits, and this may also account for the fact that the invasion escaped the comments of foreign historians. Since it is established that the late Iron Age is to be ascribed to the Turks, and that the early Iron Age does not differ sufficiently from it to warrant the assumption that these two stages of the Iron Age are the product of two different races, it follows that the Bronze Age people may well have been of Turkic, or at least Turkic-Iranian (Turkic-Aryan ?) origin. However, even if we go so far as to assume an association between the Old Turkic race and the Bronze remains, it is necessary at the same time to remember that the knowledge of bronze-working and the types of implements produced were obtained from some centre of 'Aryan' culture, just as the characters of the inscriptions were borrowed from Semitic.

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[1] This has been the case especially since the famous linguistic researches of Castrén some fifty years ago.

The ability of the old Turks to develop these borrowed arts is surprising, in view of the fact that no later Turks in Central Asia have reached so high a standard of civilization, but the explanation may possibly be that the Turks of that time were freer from Mongolian admixture than they have been since the thirteenth century, and that the 'Aryan' element in Central Asia was, at the time of this old culture, very considerable.

172 In his recent book on the archaeology of this region Tallgren says: 'The people who developed the Bronze Age civilization of the Upper Yenisei might have been Turc or else Indo-European.'[1] He rejects the idea that they may have been some Palaeo-Siberian people of the same stock of the Ostyak of the Yenisei, who still live in this region, since, as he very rightly says, they could only produce 'une civilisation des non-civilisés', and even if it were right to call them autochthones of the country they could never play any part in its history. The author's personal knowledge of these people corroborates Tallgren's opinion.

The forests of Altai have been regarded by many prominent scholars of Siberia[2] as a natural environment for the beginning of settled life. Whether as cattle-breeders, as agriculturists, or as miners and smiths, the Altaians must always have been more settled than the people of the Caspian-Aral steppe. A study of the implements, both ancient and modern, bears out the hypothesis that we have here to do with a continuous sedentary culture. Furthermore, the continuation of the pictographs through both Bronze and Iron Ages points in the same direction, and the *tamga* or tribal (clan ?) marks found on the implements and gravestones of both periods may still be seen at the present day on the reindeer and implements of the modern natives.

But though the passing of the Bronze Age into the Iron Age may have been a process of natural evolution

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] N. N. Kosmin, 'Chern', *Sibirskiya Zapiski*, Aug. 1916, No. 3, pp. 95-112; *D. A. Klements and Historical and Ethnographical Research in the Minusinsk Country*; N. M. Yadrintseff, *On the Altaians and the Chern Tatars.*

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of the same people, this does not exclude the fact that about the middle of the Iron Age some invasion took place, which gave rise to wars, and to a correspondingly great development of implements of war. There is, however, as has been said, no proof that these invaders were of different race from the men of the Bronze and early Iron Ages, but as they came from a steppe environment they may quite well have brought other customs with them. Some fall in the scale of culture may also have occurred as a result of a decrease in, or perhaps entire absence of, contact with the people (probably Aryan) who must have influenced the Yenisei Bronze culture. But though changes there were, they were not fundamental, since the general culture was never destroyed, as it was after the Kalmuck of the Russian conquests.

The Yenisei and Orkhon inscriptions so far known were written at the time when the supposed Turkic invaders were settling in the land they had conquered from the autochthones, but they certainly do not show the spirit of unacclimatized new-comers. The Turks of that time speak of themselves as inhabitants of the forest, not of the steppe. It is the dense forest *yish* (the same as *Chern*, 'black forest') that is constantly referred to in the Orkhon inscriptions.[1] The Orkhon Tu-kiu, when describing their fights with the Kirghis or other Turks, always say that these took place in the *yish*, and that their country, as well as the country of the Kirghis, is the *yish*. Judging from the original names of the rivers flowing in the forest regions of the upper Yenisei, they were all named by the Turks.

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[1] The present Altaian 'Tatars' call themselves 'Tuba', 'Tubalar', or 'Yish-kis'.

103 The Russians who first colonized this country[4] from the north took up the name Yenisei from the Tungus, whom they met first; they came in contact with the Southern Turks only after they had subjugated the Tungus. But even now, in the upper Yenisei region, the Yenisei is known as the Ulu-Kem, which again is formed by the junction of two streams with Turkic names, Bii-Kem (Bei-Kem) and Kha-Kem (Hua-Kem). These names recall the terms for the two chief rivers of the Altai, Biya (Bi) and Katuń (Khatun), which were probably also named by the Turks.

● 172 212 The dense forests of this region made communication between various tribes more difficult than it would have been in the open steppe. Hence arose the necessity of making on the bark of trees, or the flat surface of the rock, signs conveying various kinds of information. These signs, called by the Russians *myety*, gave rise to the pictographic writings called *pisanitsy*. Some of them seem to have been a means of conveying tribal information and a chronicle of events, others to have been connected with the religious cult, and these latter are very much like some of the pictures on the modern shaman's drum.[1] Still others may be nothing more than tribal *tamgas*. Great numbers of such engraved or painted pictographs are met with in the forest region of the northern Altai and upper Yenisei, while they are never found in the open steppes, where communication can be carried on much more easily by means of messengers on horseback or by smoke signals, and where chronicles are handed down by word of mouth.

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[1] N. M. Yadrintseff, *The Ancient Monuments and Inscriptions in Siberia*, pp. 456, 476.

[4] [i.e. the region of the Yenisei---Analyst]

Curiously enough, it is recorded in the old Russian 172
Cossack reports of the seventeenth and eighteenth 212
centuries, made accessible of late years, that the Kirghis, who were then fighting with the Mongolians of Jungaria, tried to communicate with the Cossacks, and to show them tracks through the forest, by means of such pictographic signs.[1]

In comparing the life of the old inhabitants of this 172
region with that of the modern population it is natural 342
to begin by considering the form of their dwellings. Unfortunately there are no indications as to the type of habitation of the people of the Bronze or the Iron Ages. The region furnishes, however, such a collection of various types of dwelling, that it is not fanciful to assume a long evolutionary development. First there is the very primitive tent, *suyulta*, or *alenchek* if covered with birch bark. Then there are quadrangular wooden dwellings called *aida*, still without windows. Next come wooden structures covered with earth, and provided with a window. These are called *kuzenek*, and in them a clay stove, *chuval*, has already replaced the smoke-hole of the more primitive types. There is an elaborated form, called *spa*, in which the whole structure is raised higher from the ground, and given a hexagonal shape, with a sloping roof. Within, it has a kind of small vestibule. The tent also has its line of development, for the use of such of the population as devote their attention to cattle-breeding, and hence are seasonal

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[1] *Memoirs of Siberian History, Seventeenth Century*, vol. I, No. 58. N. N. Kosmin, in one of his recent journeys in the Amyl Taiga of the Minusinsk country, records that his Tatar guide, on striking camp left behind a notched stick, the notches on which indicated: 'Five of us slept here one night and went away in two boats' (N. N. Kosmin, *Chern*, p. 99).

172 342 nomads. This, in its most elaborate form, is spherical, and resembles to some extent the so-called Kirghis, or properly speaking Kaizak, tent, from which, however, it differs in having a conical top instead of being built round a circular frame. There also exist hexagonal, octagonal, and polygonal varieties. These are usually covered with felt, and are called *yurta*.[1]

137 262 As regards the botanical environment, more data are available for comparison. There are certain forest plants, very plentiful in the Altai and Sayan Mountains, whose roots are much esteemed as food by the modern Turks, as they seem to have been by the ancient. Among them are *sarana* (*Lilium Martagon*), *kandyk* (*Erithronium dens canis*), and *cheremsha* (*Allium ursinum*). So characteristic are these roots as articles of food among the present-day Turks that the names for the different times of the year are taken from the plants that are then in season. Thus Bes-ai is 'the month of *kandyk*' (May), and Ak-sep-ai is 'the month of *sarana*' (June).

172 241 The agriculture carried on in the clearings of the forest was in the olden days similar to what it was at the time when the Russians first occupied the country. Barley seems to have been the chief product. On spots where the cattle have been pastured for some time the modern Altaians grow hemp. The vegetable ornament found in the late Bronze Age, and in abundance in the Iron Age, proves that the ancient inhabitants knew and used the same plants as are utilized by the present natives.

Among the agricultural implements found in the kurgans are some which are in use up to the present time among the Tatars. Such are the *ozyp*, a kind of hoe used for digging up roots, and the *obyl*, a kind of primitive plough, which, if it has shafts, is called *andazyn*. Instead of a harrow they now use the trunk of a small tree with stumps of the branches left projecting. Many of the present Tatars, for instance those along the River Chu, reap their corn by tearing it off in handfuls; only in some places is a knife with a curved handle used for this purpose. No threshing implement occurs either in the graves or among the present inhabitants, but possibly in the olden days, as in some places up to modern times, there existed the practice of singeing the straw in order to dry it, when the grain can be separated by stirring it with a stick. There are not found, either in the graves or among the Southern Altaians, the typical mill-stones which are used by the Chern Tatars, but flat slabs of stone are met with between which the grain is rubbed. The remains of the irrigation canals, called *aryk*, show that they were more elaborate in the Bronze and Iron periods than their modern substitutes, sometimes called *sugak*. It is not known in what way land was fertilized in the olden days, but at the time of the arrival of the Russians, and to a certain extent until now, the natives chose old camping sites on which to sow their grain.[1] 172 241

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[1] N. M. Yadrintseff, *On the Altaians and the Chern Tatars*, p. 8.

While some Turkic tribes, for instance the Kaizak, even now do not trouble to lay up winter stores for their cattle, the Altaians twist up straw into rolls, and store it in that way, which is also convenient for carrying.[2] Among the forest Tatars hay is prepared 172 246

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[1] Yadrintseff, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[2] *Ibid.*

172 246 by being hung in bundles from the branches of trees.[1]

172 As for the animal world, there is a record that the Cossack Ataman Vasili Tumenets,[2] who passed through the land of Tuba on his way to Mongolia in 1616, found these people in possession of horses and reindeer, but without cattle or sheep. It is interesting to note that in all the archaeological remains both of the Iron and of the Bronze periods, a great many different species of deer are represented. Among the present Turkic tribes the deer, *syn*, is still the most popular animal. The horse and the goat are also favourite motives in the bronze zoomorphic ornament, and the mountain eagle and the swan are the most frequently represented birds. All this seems to prove that the metal-workers must have lived in the same environment as the modern inhabitants. But we find in the Bronze Age also representations of animals not known to frequent the upper Yenisei, such as the dromedary and the donkey.[3] This would point to Southern influence, or at least to contact with a Southern people during the Bronze Age.

Thus it becomes clear that the people who were responsible for the early pictographs, and possibly for the bronze implements, as well as the people responsible for the Uigur inscriptions and the iron implements, are connected with the present remnants of the local Turkic population in the way in which they reacted to their botanical and zoological environment. No such similarity can be traced between the ancient inhabitants

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[1] N. N. Kosmin, *Chern*, p. 98.

[2] A. V. Adrianoff, *Sketches of the Minusinsk Country*, 1904, p. 5.

[3] Kosmin, *ibid.*

and other sections of the modern population such as 172
the Ostyak or the Samoyed.

Finally, it is curious that among the many primitive 326
races of Northern and Central Asia only two tribes have a reputation as iron-workers, the Yakut and the Kuznietsk 'Tatars'—from *kuzniets* (Russian), 'smith'. At the time of the Russian conquest the latter were paying tribute to China with iron implements of their own manufacture. It seems impossible to dissociate these people, whose original home was in the region of the Iron Age remains, from the ancient iron-workers. Of course, it is more difficult to trace their ancestry further back, though there is no evidence to prove that the Bronze Age people were of a different race from the people of the Iron Age.

The presence of rich mineral deposits in the country 172
of the old Turks gave rise to an extensive mining industry, the high value of which, added to the richness of the animal and vegetable world, made the population of the *yish* self-satisfied, and disinclined to leave their lands. The Orkhon inscriptions contain many allusions to 'the benevolent earth and waters of the Turks', and unfriendly comments on the people who migrate from the forests and mountains to the open plain, take up Chinese trade, and develop the war instinct. I will allow myself to quote one of the most instructive passages of the Orkhon inscriptions. The author addresses his tribesmen: 'Whence came your lust for warfare? Ye went away, ye people of Utukan Yish, some to the west and some to the east, but all that ye found there, in the place to which ye came, amounts to this, that your blood was shed like water, and your bones heaped up in mountains; your strong sons are

• 172 now serfs, and your clean daughters are fallen into slavery.'[1] Surely this quotation does not bear out the idea cherished by some scholars, that the Turanian Turks, at the time when they enter history, were very similar to the Mongols, that is, were warlike nomads of the steppes. Such a description would to a great extent be applicable to the border population of the Kirghis, the nomadic Kaizak. But to judge the old Turks by the Kaizak would be equivalent to estimating the culture of modern Russia by that of the European Kaizaks or Cossacks.

Even if we find among some Turkic tribes of the present day a tradition of their having been originally steppe nomads, this notion may be classified with another fictitious Turkic tradition, namely, that which provides them with a descent from the Mongol Jinghis Khan.

Some Conclusions.

144 From this review of the archaeological, historical, and ethnological evidence, it seems obvious that the Turanian Turks may be considered to be a remnant of the old Turkic race which has passed through various changes in Central Asia, having been originally known as Hiung-nu. The Turks, who are here called Iranian, have lost to a much greater extent than the Turanians the line of genealogical continuity with the Hiung-nu, or even the Tu-kiu. Still more is this the case with those Turks who have passed through several more 'racial filtrations' and environmental influences, namely, the Azerbeijan and the Osmanly Turks. In fact, were it not for their Turkic language, the Osmanly would have to be classified among the

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[1] Kosmin, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

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choose some characteristic trait of their group, e. g. Kaizak, 'Wanderers free as steppe birds', Kara-Sakal, 'Black Beards', Kara-Kalpak, 'Black Caps'. Sometimes they may adopt the name of their leader, e. g. Usbegs, Seljuk, or that of the most influential sub-clan, e.g. Sakhalar (the name of the nation called by the Russians the Yakut), though not all the members of this nation belong to the Sakhalar sub-clan. The clan-name Sakhalar (sing. Sakky) is to be found among many Turkic people of the Abakan and upper Yenisei, and it was probably only with the Russian advance at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries that one group of the Sakhalar clan migrated towards Lake Baikal, and then northwards along the Lena, while a smaller group went directly northwards along the Yenisei. This would be about the time when the Burut-Kirghis migrated from the upper Yenisei to Jungaria.[1]

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Thus in the case of these migrations the clan names are not sufficient guide in tracing the racial affinity of the people. More assistance is obtained from a study of their sub-clan crests, or *tamgas* (sing. *tamga, tamaga, tamka, dam-k'a, t'amga*), and their war-cries (*urany*, sing. *uran*). It is curious that these two most interesting sources of ethnological evidence have so far been only partly investigated, though considering the numerous divisions and subdivisions existing among the Turkic peoples, and the fact that the national names are, as has been seen, accidental and variable, any permanent means

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[1] N. N. Kosmin, *D. A. Klements and the Historical and Ethnographical Investigation of the Minusinsk Country*, Irkutsk, 1916, pp. 13-15.

101 Syr Daria Territory, in the Kokand district of the
162 Ferghana Territory, and some 20,000 in the Khanate
of Khiva.

221 Half of them are settled agriculturists, the rest are
231 still nomad cattle-breeders, their pasture lands being,
however, more strictly fixed than among the Kaizak.
[197] Some of them are also engaged in trading. Of all the
Kirghis group their language is the most nearly related
to that of the Western Turks.[1]

101 This may be explained by the fact that they belong
174 to the stream of Turks who participated in the westward migration some ten centuries ago.

Speaking of the origin of the Kara-Kalpak or Chornyie Klobuki, as they were called in Kieff-Russia, P. Golubowski[2] says that they were a mixture of Ghuz Turks, Pyechenyeg, and others, and that they formed that remnant of the Ghuz Turks who remained in Russia when the new wave of Turkic invaders from Asia—the Polovtsy—drove the other part of their tribe across the Danube. The remnants of the Ghuz, together, possibly, with other Turks, settled on the Russian borderlands, accepted Christianity, and were known as the Kara-Klobuk (Kara-Kalpak), while some of them moved back to Asia, and, according to V. Moshkoff, about 70,000 of them live until now in Bessarabia under the name of Ghaghauzy (Gagauzy).[3] Whether the Kara-Kalpak not living in Asia are the same as the Kara-

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[1] A. Maksimoff, 'The Kara-Kalpak', vol. XXIII, p. 454, of the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, ed. Jeleznoff.

[2] *The Pyechenyegi, the Torki and the Polovtsy until the Tatar Invasion*, Kieff, 1884, p. 151.

[3] V. Moshkoff, *Examples of the Folk-Literature of the Turkic Tribes*, St. Petersburg, 1904, p. xxii.

Kalpak who in the eleventh century were the borderland 101
population of Southern Russia, it is difficult to ascertain, 174
but possibly they re-migrated to Asia from European Russia in the eighteenth century, where Howorth thinks they formed one tribe of the Nogai-Pyechenyeg on the Yaik River.[1]

The Turanian Turks.

It is impossible to draw a well-defined line between 101
the Iranian and the Turanian groups of the Eastern Turks. Thus the Kaizak, who are here reckoned among the Iranian Turks, are in many respects closely allied to the Kara-Kirghis, who may be called the descendants of the Yenisei Kirghis. They have also affinities with the Turks of Eastern Turkestan, of Northern Mongolia, and of Siberia, all of whom might be called Turanian.

It is important to bear in mind that at present the 177
adjective 'Turanian', as applied to these people, really 101
means that they are under Mongolian, Chinese, and Tibetan cultural influences, while they have also retained to some extent the original traits of their pre-Mahometan Turkic culture. The Iranian group has fewer traits of this old Turkic culture left, owing to the predominance of Persian and Arabic cultural elements, and when we pass to the Western Turks, the infiltration of Mediterranean and Central European influence leaves few points of resemblance, other than language, between them and the Turanian Turks living one on each side of the main mass of Turkic-speaking peoples.

THE KIRGHIS, as has been said,[2] are to be distinguished

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[1] H. H. Howworth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. II, p. 5.

[2] [See category 116 p39 -- Analyst]

found among the Teleut, and Shui among Yenisei 618
Ostyak, hence the admixture of the two races is attributed to Kyzyl by Radloff.[1] 144

Most of the Siberian Tatars, as well as Northern 101
Uriankhai, call themselves Tuba, either exclusively or 174 ●
alongside with their tribal name, *Tuba* being the name of one of their clans. This name *Tuba*, *Tubas*, *Tupo* or *Doubo*, like the word *Tatar*, should be used with great caution, until its origin and meaning have been more clearly defined. It seems to have been adopted by the Chinese as a collective term for the people living in the Southern Yenisei Region, probably along the river of this name, the right tributary of the Yenisei. The Russian historians of Siberia, Miller[2] and Fischer,[3] mention the people of Tuba as paying tribute to the Mongol Altyn Khan, and opposing for a long time Russian conquest, but it is not clear whether this name had a racial meaning, designating, e.g., the extinct Arine, Kottes, &c., or the Samoyed, or was used only as a geographical term for all peoples living near the River Tuba. Now at any rate it does not seem to be limited entirely to the tribes whom one can suspect of having some Samoyed blood in them, for it is found among the Altaians, whom even Castrén and Kostroff with all their 'Pan-Samoyedic' theory could not call 'Tatarised Samoyed'. It is found moreover among the *Kachints*, who, according to Katanoff,[4] were Kuchum-Khan people, who moved to the River Kacha, near Krasnoyarsk, after the defeat of Kuchum, and farther

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[1] A. A. Yariloff, *The Kyzyl and their Industry*, 1899, p. 1.

[2] G. F. Miller, *Description of the Tsardom of Siberia* (1750).

[3] J. E. Fischer, *Sibirische Geschichte* (1768).

[4] 'Legends relating to old deeds and old people among the tribes living near the Sayan Mountains', *Mem. I. R. G. S.*, vol. XXXIV, 1909, p. 280.

101 south later on. But its distribution is still wider: the
174 eastern neighbours of the Uriankhai, the *Darkat* and
the *Uigur*, living on the shores of Lake Kossogol, have
a clan called Tuba, though no tribe here uses this name
for itself as a whole. The Darkat now speak a Mongolian language, but in tradition they seem to have
more in common with the Turks than with the
Mongols.

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there are others, such as Kirghis, Sokka, Oirat Ari,
&c., while some clan-names, such as Kaska among the
175 Kachints, are peculiar to one tribe. On the whole,
the Siberian Tatars cannot be compared to the Kaizak
with regard to their memory of the tribal and clan past.
Katanoff[1] found that this lack of tradition seems to
characterize all the Turks known as 'Tatars'. 'The
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the pressure of Ivan the Terrible, and the Tobolsk
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Altaians is wider and includes also some other Tatars,
such as the Kumandints. The Altaians call themselves

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 267.

Iish Kysi (*Iish*, 'black forest', 'chern'; *Kysi*, 'men'). 101
In language and religion they keep free from foreign admixture, they are therefore typical Turanian Turks. Their mode of life is sedentary whenever the environment allows them to practise agriculture. In religion they are Shamanists.

THE TURKS OF NORTH-WESTERN MONGOLIA AND EASTERN TURKESTAN. While the Altaians or Chern 'Tatars' occupy the Northern Altai, there lives in the Southern, so-called Little Altai, along the Black Irtish, in Jungaria and in Eastern Turkestan, another Turkic tribe, a rival of the Altaians as representative of the pure Turanian type. This is the tribe called *Kirei*, *Kerrit*, *Kerrait*, or *Kirai*. The chief distinction between the Kirei and the Altaians is now a religious one, the Kirei being Mahometans. We know that from the [795]
eleventh to the thirteenth centuries they were adherents of Christianity in the form of Nestorianism, and it is among them that the fabulous Christian king Prester John (probably the native king Ouang-Khan, a contemporary of Jinghis Khan) is said to have lived. In [821]
mode of life they are at present nomads, and are well known as hunters.[1]

The Kirei are sometimes called *Kirei-Kirghis*, and it is possible that in the period from the beginning of [174]
our era till the sixth century, when the Kirghis were spreading in the basin of the upper Yenisei, one clan, the Kirei, were left behind, and settled in the Kemchik valley. Again, when in the seventeenth century the Yenisei-Kirghis were retiring before the Russian advance, from the Minusinsk steppes southwards to Jungaria and Mongolia, some of them may have settled

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[1] D. Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia*, vol. II, pp. 351-5.

197 174 That at one time a Samoyed group might have migrated to the Soyot (Uriankhai) is not out of the question, since many clan-names of the Samoyed and the Uriankhai are alike. But no other signs of this relationship can be found now, and the southernmost Turks, who may have been originally Samoyed, are the Kamashints, some of whom, at the time of Castrén's travels (1840–50), were speaking a Samoyedic dialect. When Radloff visited them, however (about 1865), all signs of Samoyedic speech had disappeared, and only a Turkic dialect was in use.

233 174 Radloff thinks that the Uriankhai are the forefathers of the present Yakut,[1] which, however, sounds improbable, if only because the Uriankhai are almost the most successful reindeer-breeders known, whilst the Yakut learnt that art only after their migration to the north.

619 The number of the Uriankhai is some 100,000. Until recently they formed one *aimak* or province of China. They are subdivided into nine local groups (*khoshun* or *kopun*), which again are divided into *sumo* or tribes. The *sumo* is further subdivided into *sök*, clans, or [618] perhaps moieties. The clan-names are mostly of Turkic origin, many of them being found also among other Turanian Turks, e.g. Irgit, Soyan, Kirghis, Kaizak, Koeluk, Uigur, &c.

233 The Uriankhai living in the steppe country are mostly cattle-breeders; some of them, however, depend chiefly on hunting and fishing. It is only in this region that we find the breeding of horse, yak, and reindeer for

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[1] Radloff, 'Die Jakutische Sprache', *Bull. I.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 54–6. For opposite opinion see I. P. Silinich, 'On the question of the physical type of the population of North-west Siberia', *Russ. Anthr. J.*, Nos. 3–4, 1916, pp. 51–3.

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Abul Ghazi, Kasem Beg, Vambéry, Klaproth, and Schott, derive the name Uigur from a Turkic root, J. I. Schmidt refers it to the Mongolian language, and places the origin of the Uigur people in Tibet.[1] If we accept Professor Radloff's view that the bulk of the Hun-nu, or rather the southern branch of them, were the On-Uigur, then we know that most of them moved towards the west along the steppes lying north of Tian-Shan. But the people who played their part in the history of Central Asia were those of the On-Uigur who remained behind in Eastern Turkestan, especially in the basin of the Tarim, and the Togus-Uigur in the northern part of the present Mongolia. That branch of them who were already established near the Aral Sea in the second century A.D. are often called by their neighbours simply *On* or *Onlar* ('Ten').[2] Later, when after the death of Attila the Hunnic Empire broke into separate tribes, they again assumed their tribal names, viz. On-Uigur, Utigur, Sary-Uigur, Kotrigur, while the name Hun almost disappears. Of these tribes, the On-Uigur are known to have been in the north of the Caucasus in the seventh century, on their way back to Asia.[3]

• 174 It is difficult to follow the exact fate of these remnants of the Hun-nu Empire. Presumably a part of them settled among the Finnic tribes of the steppe forest near the Urals, but there is so far very little proof in support of the somewhat vague assumption that the

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[1] *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Völker Mittelasiens*, St. Petersburg, 1824, p. 95.

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[2] Among the Turks a confederation of tribes very often has as its name the number of the tribes composing it, e.g. Uz, 100, probably the same as Ghuz. Radloff, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[3] Radloff, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

powerful Finnic state of Ugra, which in the tenth and 174
eleventh centuries stretched between the Volga and the
Urals, owes its name to the Uigur.

Of the Uigur who stayed in Asia, i.e. the Togus 175
Uigur, we know that in the fifth century they emancipated
themselves from the power of the Jwen-Jwen,
and created an independent state called by the Chinese
Hao-fu. At the time of the hegemony of the Tu-kiu
the Uigur also were subdued to them. When in turn
the leading rôle among the Turks of Central Asia
passed to the Uigur dynasty (A.D. 744–847), the name
of the state was again Togus-Uigur ('Nine Tribes'),
though it was composed of more than that number of
tribes. The capital of the Khagan of the Togus-Uigur
was Karakorum on the River Orkhon. Some fourteen
Khagans ruled during the period of Uigur power.
When, in consequence of the intrigues of the Chinese
with the other Turkic tribes, the Uigur dynasty and
political power were undermined and finally overthrown
at the hands of the Kirghis (A.D. 847), the Uigur culture,
which was of a high order, still flourished in Western
China, Eastern Turkestan, and the district of Hami.
It was in that district that the later Uigur state, under
the dynasty of the Arslan Khans, continued its existence,
and curiously enough it enjoyed an independent
and influential position, since its civilization spread
among the nomadic Mongols, and even in Transoxania.
This position the Uigur owed solely to their great
ability, and to their sedentary agricultural mode of life,
which raised them, as it did the Yenisei Kirghis, above
their nomadic neighbours. They came under the influence 177
of Buddhism, of Christianity, and later on of
Islam. In the western part of the Uigur country

175 a new political power, that of the Islamic Uigur dynasty of Ilek Khan, arose, and its domination spread as far as Bokhara. But the advance of the Kara-Kidan once more overthrew the power of the Uigur, who were obliged to recognize the suzerainty of the Kara-Kidan. These in their turn succumbed before Jinghis Khan. Yet even in the times of the Mongolic rule of Jinghis Khan the Uigur culture did not fail to make itself felt, and still later it was able to produce the well-known Nestorian patriarchs, Rabban Cauma and Jabalaha.[1]

Second Period. It is not easy to trace the history of any other Turkic tribe with the same continuity. Turning to the Tu-kiu, with whom begins the second period of the history of the Turks in Central Asia, we meet with them first about A. D. 550, at the time when the Sassanides were reigning in Persia, when we find them living, under the name of Assena, between the Altai and the Syr Daria.

101 Professor Parker derives the word Tu-kiu from the Turkic word *durkö*, meaning 'helmet', from the shape of the mountain to which the Turkic tribe of Assena migrated to escape from the despotic rule of the Sien-pi (Tung-hu). They seem, however, not to have been independent even there, since they had to serve the then powerful Jwen-Jwen as workers in iron.[2] They adopted the name of the mountain Durkö as a tribal name.

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[1] J. B. Chabot, *Histoire du Patriarche Mar Jabalaha III et du Moine Rabban Cauma*, traduite du Syriaque, 1893, vol. I, p. 578.

[174] [2] The Jwen-Jwen (Zhu-Zhu) are possibly the ancestors of the Avars, who appeared in Europe in the sixth century, and forming a wedge between the Eastern and Western Slavs, soon amalgamated with them. Blochet identifies the name Jwen-Jwen with Ib-Ib, Ibim, Ibil, Ibir, from which he derives Sybir, Siberia, and he believes the Jwen-Jwen to be of Tungus stock, and identical with the Sien-pi ('Le Nom des Turcs dans l'Avesta', *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 305).

A 173 273 Marco Polo also describes wines made of dates or of sugar and dates, sugar, rice, grain, and grapes. (36) Again distillation and spirits are not mentioned.

36. 1908, 91, 104, 280f., 476, 500.

A 176 272 [273] Carpini reports of the Tatars: "If they have horse milk, they drink it in enormous quantities, also the milk of sheep, goats, and camels. They do not have wine, beer, and mead unless these beverages happen to be imported from other nations or sent as presents. Because they do not have horse milk in winter, unless they are wealthy, they boil millet with water and make such a thin broth of it that one cannot eat it but must drink it...In summer, however, when they A [262] have enough horse milk, they seldom eat meat unless they just happen to /74/ be presented with some or kill game or a bird on the hunt." A [273] (37) Carpini explicitly says that spirits are not known; however, he

37. Johann de Plano Carpini, 1930, 101.

does not mention kumiss either.

Tu 273 175 Ibn Batuta reports: "The chief beverage of the Turks is wine made from honey." The same is reported by Chinese travelers of the 13th century A. D. (38)

38. W. W. Rockhill, 1900, 62, footnote 1.

All informants mention the ordinary kumiss and other alcoholic beverages but not spirits, and they do not know the word Arrack. Therefore, the distillation process must have been unknown there; otherwise they would probably have described it.

4. Arrack and Distillation

Tu Ti [114] [176] 273 It is often maintained that the preparation of milk schnapps, distillation, came to the nomads of Inner Asia through the Tibetans. Inasmuch as the Tibetan nomads do not know kumiss, much less distilled kumiss, and do not make distilled schnapps from grain, they cannot have introduced the process. Others believe that distillation was brought to the nomads through Chinese or European influence. (39)

39. Ebert, Reallexikon, Volume XI, 40.

frequently translated into many European languages.[1] 538
The poet who perhaps most enriched the Jagatai literature was Mir Ali Shir Navaï, who lived during the Timurid dynasty.

It is interesting to note that among the latest documents in the older form of the Uigur written character are some letters sent by the Mongol Khans of Persia in the thirteenth century to the Pope of Rome, Philip le Bel King of France, and Edward I King of England, the object of which was to arrange an offensive alliance against the Saracens. There were as many as six Embassies exchanged. A number of the letters were written in Uigur with Latin translations, and the original Uigur manuscripts of some of these were found by M. Abel Rémusat in Paris.[2] It is possible that the 212 175

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[1] The translations in English are as follows:

'Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed Baber, Emperor of Hindustan, written by himself, in the Jaghatai Turkic, and translated partly by the late John Leyden, partly by William Erskine', London, 1826.

'The Memoirs of Bābur; a new translation of the Bābur-nāma, incorporating Leyden and Erskine's of 1826 A.D.', by Annette S. Beveridge, London, 1912.

'Memoirs of Baber, Emperor of India, First of the Great Moghuls, being an abridgement with an introduction, supplementary notes, and some account of his successors', by Lieut.-Col. F. G. Talbot, London, 1909.

[2] Abel Rémusat, 'Mémoires sur les relations politiques des princes chrétiens et particulièrement des rois de France avec les empereurs mongols', *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, Pt. I, vol. vi, pp. 396–469; Pt. II, vol. vii, pp. 335–431. See also T. Hudson Turner, 'Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I and of his Relations with the Moghul Sovereign of Persia', *Arch. Jour.*, VIII, London, 1851, pp. 47–50; I. J. Schmidt, *Philologisch-kritische Zugabe zu den von H. Abel Rémusat bekannt gemachten in den königlich-französischen Archiven befindlichen zwei mongolischen Original-Briefen der Könige von Persien Argun und Oeldshaitu an Philipp den Schönen*, St. Petersburg, 1824.

2/2 ● 175 originals of those sent to England may yet be found in some British collection. Some of the envoys were Uigur priests of Nestorian religion.[1]

Religion.

779 Among the Iranian Turks in Turkestan the almost universal religion is Mahometanism. Its adherents form 99 per cent. of the Turks in Ferghana (Kokand), [795] 93 per cent. in Samarkand, 96 per cent. in Syr Daria, and 88 per cent. in Transcaspia (1897). They are mostly Sunnites, and of the Hanifite rite. It is recognized in the Mahometan world that nowhere else is there such strict adherence to the Koran and the Sunna as in this region, nowhere else are there so many religious orders and so many saints. This contemporary religious fanaticism, however, does not play the cultural rôle which it did when Mahometanism was introduced into this region in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as a rival to the earlier influences of Buddhism, Christianity, and the well-developed local animistic religion. At that time, under the influence of Iranian culture, Mahometanism meant also the development of science and art, literature and architecture. The present theologians of Turkestan have banished from their religion everything which is not in accordance with strict devotion and

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[1] The Uigur manuscripts known to exist in European libraries are:

Kudatku Bilik (copy made in Herat in 1439) (Wiener Hofbibliothek).

Légende de Oghus Chan (Library of Charles Schefer of Paris).

Teskere-i-ewlija (Bibliothèque Nationale).

Miradj nameh (Berliner Bibliothek).

Yarlyk of Temir Kutlug (Wiener Hofbibliothek).

Yarlyk of Toktamysh (Moscow Library).

Application of the envoy of Chami, Babeke, to the Chinese Emperor, with Chinese translation (Asiatic Museum, Petrograd).

101 south later on. But its distribution is still wider: the 174 eastern neighbours of the Uriankhai, the *Darkat* and the *Uigur*, living on the shores of Lake Kossogol, have a clan called Tuba, though no tribe here uses this name for itself as a whole. The Darkat now speak a Mongolian language, but in tradition they seem to have more in common with the Turks than with the Mongols.

The *Tuba* is not the only clan-name so widely spread; there are others, such as Kirghis, Sokka, Oirat Ari, &c., while some clan-names, such as Kaska among the 175 Kachints, are peculiar to one tribe. On the whole, the Siberian Tatars cannot be compared to the Kaizak with regard to their memory of the tribal and clan past. Katanoff[1] found that this lack of tradition seems to characterize all the Turks known as 'Tatars'. 'The Kazan Tatars do not have any written or oral record relating to the important fact of the fall of Kazan, under the pressure of Ivan the Terrible, and the Tobolsk Tatars scarcely have any records giving accounts of the Tsar Kuchum and his wars with the Russians. But perhaps the fault rests more with Kuchum's personality, for it is not so much the events which are important in history as the personality of heroes that inspire the oral tradition. Thus a certain hero Kangza, unknown in history, has very many tales devoted to him among the Teleut (Radloff), the Altaians (Vyerbitski), and the Abakan Tatars (Katanoff).

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 267.

draught purposes carried on together, and in a way it characterizes the Uriankhai, for they seem to combine the traits of the Mongol horse-nomads, the Turkic hunters and cattle-breeders, and the Tungus reindeer-breeders. 233

History.

The history of the Turks in Central Asia falls roughly into the following periods: 175

I. From the first vague mention of them in the Chinese annals of the Tang and Yu dynasties (2356-2200 B.C.), and the no less vague mention in the *Avesta* (if it is right to identify 'Tura' with Turks), to the middle of the sixth century A.D., when the name Tu-kiu (Turks) appears for the first time.

II. From the rise of the Tu-kiu, through the period of rapid independent development, to the Mongolian invasion in the thirteenth century.

III. From the thirteenth century through the period of the great migrations started by the Jinghis Khan conquests, and of the still independent Turkic states under Mongolian dynasties, to the beginning of the Russian advance in the seventeenth century.

IV. From the seventeenth century, through the period of the wars with Russia and of subsequent Russian rule, to the Russian Revolution of 1917.

First Period. The probable ancestors of the Turks lived to the north of China, and were mentioned by the Chinese chroniclers as long ago as the third millennium B.C. on account of their raids on China, but of course scarcely any mention is made by the Chinese of the Turks living to the far north and far west of China.

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The first name now identified as that of the ancestors of the Turks is *Hiung-nu*. According to Professor Parker,[1] there exists 'a Hiung-nu tradition that about 1200 B.C. a (Chinese) royal personage who had most probably been misconducting himself fled to the nomads of the north and founded among them a sort of dynasty'. The Chinese are concerned with their neighbours on the north-west, the Hiung-nu, and on the north-east, the *Tung-hu* (subsequently Tungus), only so far as these barbarians annoyed them. The Emperors of the Tsin dynasty (255–209 B.C.) built the Great Wall to protect their northern frontiers, and this directed the strategic movements of the Hiung-nu in the second century B.C. towards the west. It is possible that some branches of them may have migrated westwards before the construction of the Great Wall, and then continued to develop quietly in their new home, otherwise it is hard to understand the high degree of organized culture in which we find them in the Altai and Yenisei region about 200 B.C.,[2] when we hear that the Kirghis and the Usuni were already there, and had found some remnants of still earlier Turkic immigrants. They may possibly have been in possession of this region already in the Bronze Age, unless, of course, we assume the independent origin of the Altai and Yenisei Turks, and take the Hiung-nu as representing a stage when the easternmost Turks were not yet differentiated from the Mongols.

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[1] E. H. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, 1895, p. 3. Another Chinese translator, Father Jakinth Bichurin, gives a different version of the origin of the Hiung-nu dynasty: Shun-wei, son of the last emperor of the Hia dynasty, went in 1764 B.C. to Mongolia, and there started the Hiung-nu dynasty. Bichurin considers the Hiung-nu to be Mongols. (*Collection of Information concerning Peoples living in Central Asia*, 1851, vol. I.)

[2] N. A. Aristoff, *Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition*, &c., p. 460.

A more clearly defined stage is that of the Hun-nu Empire (possibly a form derived from Hiung-nu), which united under its domination most of the Turkic tribes of Central Asia. The reign of Mété (209–179 B.C.) seems to mark the climax of their power in Asia. The information gathered from the Chinese annals gives us the geographical distribution of the Turks of that time, who were divided into two hostile groups, Western and Eastern, both subject to Mété. The Eastern Turks were composed of the Uigur, between Tannu Ola and the Yellow River, and between the Tian-Shan and the basin of the Tarim. To the north of them lived the Din-lin (Telengit?), near Tannu Ola. The Kirghis (Khakas) lived along the Yenisei, and the Karluk and Tu-kiu in the Altai, and as far south as Tarbagatai.

The Western Turks comprised the Usun (Usuni), who lived to the south of Lake Balkash; the Kangli (Kan-giu), farther west as far as Amu Daria; the Yüe-Chi,[1] still farther to the south-west as far as the Caspian Sea; and the Yao-Chi, to the north of the last-named.

The Usun power in the western part of Turan (rivers Ili and Chu) dates chiefly from the end of the second century B.C. to the first century A.D. Since they found on their arrival the Kangli (Kan-giu) Turks settled in the Tian-Shan, it was with them that they struggled for the predominance, and both sides called for help either to the Chinese or to the Hun-nu.[2] But

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[1] W. W. Radloff, *Concerning the Uigur*, 1893, p. 126.

[2] Aristoff, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

175 when both of them were subdued by the Hun-nu, their two tribes intermingled, and a part of them migrated to the northern outskirts of their territory, to escape the despotic rule of their conquerors, the Hun-nu. It is possible to look upon these groups as the earliest Kaizak organization, later imitated by the Cossacks.

All these probably Turkic tribes, and many remnants of 'Aryan' peoples and states in Central Asia, were under the rule of Mété,[1] who divided his empire into twenty-four parts, governed by six princes and six administrators. Within each part a strictly military organization prevailed, with units of 10, 100, 1000, and 10,000 men.

Nineteen of these twenty-four groups were composed of Uigur. Ten of them formed a confederation called On-Uigur, and nine another confederation called Togus-Uigur. The latter lived to the north of the On-Uigur. Professor Radloff thinks that as the bulk of the Hun-nu Empire was composed of On-Uigur, it is possible that the name Hun-nu is only a corrupt form of On-Uigur, On-Ui.[2]

The Chinese feared the power of the Hun-nu so much that about the middle of the second century B.C. they tried to make a defensive alliance with the Yüe-Chi, who, at the end of the pre-Christian era and the beginning of our own, formed one of the most powerful empires of Central Asia. Though that attempt failed, we hear that the Hun-nu, after having defeated the

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[1] Though Professor Radloff reckoned the Yüe-Chi as a Turkic tribe, it is more probable that they were a Tung-hu tribe surrounded by Turkic people, with whom the Chinese confused them. They are later known as Kushan.

[2] Radloff, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

Wusun (Usuni) near Ili in 176 B.C., and the Yüe-Chi near the Tarim valley, were subsequently conquered by the Yüe-Chi at the end of the first century B.C., and that in the same century a Hun-nu prince submitted to China.[1]

Subsequently the eastern half of the Hun-nu Empire was divided into northern and southern parts, both of which had finally fallen by A.D. 215. The downfall of the Hun-nu Empire was thus due to the combined efforts of the Chinese and the Tung-hu, and indeed a Tung-hu power (Sien-pi, Toba, and Moyun) was then arising between China and the Turks.

It would seem as if the Hun-nu, their power in Asia ruined by all these defeats, migrated westwards in the second and third centuries, particularly the On-Uigur branch of them. Taking these to be the Huns who terrified Europe in the fifth century, we know that in A.D. 275 they were on the Volga, afterwards advancing farther west. At the same time another stream of the Hun-nu directed its course towards Transoxania, where they were known as the White Huns of Ephthalites. From there they successfully advanced on Persia and India, until in A.D. 528 their movement was checked by a confederation of Hindu princes.

Some of the tribes who entered into the composition of the Hun-nu Empire of Mété, and already at that period had a marked individuality, were the Khakas, later called Kirghis, and the Kiao-Che ('High-Carts'), later called Uigur. The Chinese historians say that the Kirghis and the Uigur (both of whom they call sometimes Ting-ling, sometimes Kankalis) use the same

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[1] É. Chavannes, *Les Documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental*, Oxford, 1913, p. vii.

•175 language, and Professor Parker makes the suggestion that all the cart-using people of Hiung-nu origin north of the desert region of Issyk-Kul and Syr Daria were once called Ting-ling.[1]

How far the other tribes of Central Asia prominent towards the end of the pre-Christian era, for instance the Saka, were related to the Hun-nu it is difficult to ascertain, but in any case the 'Aryan' population of West Central Asia must have been considerably long after the Graeco-Bactrian kingdoms were destroyed by the Yüe-Chi. The lack of information about the linguistic affinities of these people makes it difficult to define them in the very early centuries of our era. It is known, for instance, that the Hun-nu used the Turkic language in the fourth century A. D.,[2] but whether it was their original language is not clear.

[142] We hear that the Usuni (Wusun) of Ili and Balkash, and the Khakas (later Kirghis), were fair-haired and blue-eyed. This may be explained either by their contact with some 'Aryan' people, or by attributing to them an 'Aryan' origin. In 95 B.C. the Chinese said that the Khakas lived in the regions of the Kem and the upper Yenisei. Then again in the third century A. D. we hear about the 'blond Kirghis' (Kien-kun) as being very powerful and providing 20,000 men in time of war.[3] Of course, we have no proof that the fair Khakas of that time, and their kin the Uigur, were Turkic-speaking people, except that some names of objects and of the months mentioned by the Chinese

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[1] Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

[2] Barthold, review of Aristoff's *Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition*, &c., p. 343.

[3] O. Donner, 'Sur l'origine de l'alphabet turc du Nord de l'Asie', *J. Soc. Fin.-Ougr.*, Helsingfors, 1896, XIV, p. 70.

in connexion with the Khakas are in a Turkic language.[1] 175 After the ninth century the Chinese no longer speak of them as Khakas, but as Kili-ki-dze, which, according to Klements, is a Chinese pronunciation of the name Kirghis. The time of the greatest development of the Kirghis belongs to the seventh to ninth centuries, i. e. to the second period of Turkic history.

The Uigur are first heard of about the second century B. C., and the Chinese had constant relations with them from that time till the sixteenth century, so that the history of the Uigur runs through all the first three periods of Turkic history. But as the evolution of this important tribe is an essential part of the history of the Turks in Central Asia it will be useful to give here a consecutive account of them in some detail.

The Uigur were known to the Chinese under the 175/101 names Hao-Hui, Kao-Che, Kan-Hui, Vei-He, U-He, U-Hu, Hon-He, and Hu. It was through the various Asiatic transliterations of the name Uigur that European writers came across it. The first mention of it is found in Ptolemy.[2] In its present form the name seems first to have been used in the Mahometan histories at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[3] Rashid al-Dīn says that in his time the name Uigur was applied to a large group of Turkic tribes living between the sources of the Yenisei and the Selenga. But after this, in fact until the seventeenth century, most of the Eastern Turks were known under this name.

While most Turkic scholars, such as Rashid al-Dīn,

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[1] N. N. Kosmin, *D. A. Klements and Historical and Ethnographical Research in the Minusinsk Country*, Irkutsk, 1916, p. 7.

[2] *Serica*, Liber IV, p. 16, 3.

[3] Skrine and Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

175 101 Abul Ghazi, Kasem Beg, Vambéry, Klaproth, and Schott, derive the name Uigur from a Turkic root, J. I. Schmidt refers it to the Mongolian language, and places the origin of the Uigur people in Tibet.[1] If we accept Professor Radloff's view that the bulk of the Hun-nu, or rather the southern branch of them, were the On-Uigur, then we know that most of them moved towards the west along the steppes lying north of Tian-Shan. But the people who played their part in the history of Central Asia were those of the On-Uigur who remained behind in Eastern Turkestan, especially in the basin of the Tarim, and the Togus-Uigur in the northern part of the present Mongolia. That branch of them who were already established near the Aral Sea in the second century A. D. are often called by their neighbours simply *On* or *Onlar* ('Ten').[2] Later, when after the death of Attila the Hunnic Empire broke into separate tribes, they again assumed their tribal names, viz. On-Uigur, Utigur, Sary-Uigur, Kotrigur, while the name Hun almost disappears. Of these tribes, the On-Uigur are known to have been in the north of the Caucasus in the seventh century, on their way back to Asia.[3]

174 It is difficult to follow the exact fate of these remnants of the Hun-nu Empire. Presumably a part of them settled among the Finnic tribes of the steppe forest near the Urals, but there is so far very little proof in support of the somewhat vague assumption that the

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[1] *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Völker Mittelasiens*, St. Petersburg, 1824, p. 95.

[619] [2] Among the Turks a confederation of tribes very often has as its name the number of the tribes composing it, e.g. Uz, 100, probably the same as Ghuz. Radloff, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[3] Radloff, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

powerful Finnic state of Ugra, which in the tenth and eleventh centuries stretched between the Volga and the Urals, owes its name to the Uigur. 174

Of the Uigur who stayed in Asia, i.e. the Togus Uigur, we know that in the fifth century they emancipated themselves from the power of the Jwen-Jwen, and created an independent state called by the Chinese Hao-fu. At the time of the hegemony of the Tu-kiu the Uigur also were subdued to them. When in turn the leading rôle among the Turks of Central Asia passed to the Uigur dynasty (A. D. 744–847), the name of the state was again Togus-Uigur ('Nine Tribes'), though it was composed of more than that number of tribes. The capital of the Khagan of the Togus-Uigur was Karakorum on the River Orkhon. Some fourteen Khagans ruled during the period of Uigur power. When, in consequence of the intrigues of the Chinese with the other Turkic tribes, the Uigur dynasty and political power were undermined and finally overthrown at the hands of the Kirghis (A. D. 847), the Uigur culture, which was of a high order, still flourished in Western China, Eastern Turkestan, and the district of Hami. It was in that district that the later Uigur state, under the dynasty of the Arslan Khans, continued its existence, and curiously enough it enjoyed an independent and influential position, since its civilization spread among the nomadic Mongols, and even in Transoxania. This position the Uigur owed solely to their great ability, and to their sedentary agricultural mode of life, which raised them, as it did the Yenisei Kirghis, above their nomadic neighbours. They came under the influence of Buddhism, of Christianity, and later on of Islam. In the western part of the Uigur country 175 ● [177]

175 a new political power, that of the Islamic Uigur dynasty of Ilek Khan, arose, and its domination spread as far as Bokhara. But the advance of the Kara-Kidan once more overthrew the power of the Uigur, who were obliged to recognize the suzerainty of the Kara-Kidan. These in their turn succumbed before Jinghis Khan. Yet even in the times of the Mongolic rule of Jinghis Khan the Uigur culture did not fail to make itself felt, and still later it was able to produce the well-known Nestorian patriarchs, Rabban Cauma and Jabalaha.[1]

Second Period. It is not easy to trace the history of any other Turkic tribe with the same continuity. Turning to the Tu-kiu, with whom begins the second period of the history of the Turks in Central Asia, we meet with them first about A. D. 550, at the time when the Sassanides were reigning in Persia, when we find them living, under the name of Assena, between the Altai and the Syr Daria.

101 Professor Parker derives the word Tu-kiu from the Turkic word *durkö*, meaning 'helmet', from the shape of the mountain to which the Turkic tribe of Assena migrated to escape from the despotic rule of the Sien-pi (Tung-hu). They seem, however, not to have been independent even there, since they had to serve the then powerful Jwen-Jwen as workers in iron.[2] They
adopted the name of the mountain Durkö as a tribal name.

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[1] J. B. Chabot, *Histoire du Patriarche Mar Jabalaha III et du Moine Rabban Cauma*, traduite du Syriaque, 1893, vol. I, p. 578.

[174] [2] The Jwen-Jwen (Zhu-Zhu) are possibly the ancestors of the Avars, who appeared in Europe in the sixth century, and forming a wedge between the Eastern and Western Slavs, soon amalgamated with them. Blochet identifies the name Jwen-Jwen with Ib-Ib, Ibim, Ibil, Ibir, from which he derives Sybir, Siberia, and he believes the Jwen-Jwen to be of Tungus stock, and identical with the Sien-pi ('Le Nom des Turcs dans l'Avesta', *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 305).

adopted the name of the mountain Durkö as a tribal 000
name.

There seems to be some confusion as to the geo- 103
graphical position of the mountain thus connected with the rise of the Durkö, Tu-kiu, or Turks. Professor Parker[1] places it not far from the city of Shan-tan in the modern province of Kan-su, which in the sixth century was called Kin-shan, i. e. 'Golden Mountains'. But the birthplace of the Turks is usually held to be the Altai Mountains, which are also called Kin-shan. Since when we first hear of the Turks they are expert metal-workers, it would seem that the Altai, with its incomparable mineral wealth, is more likely to be the Kin-shan of the Chinese sources. All modern archaeological and ethnological investigations support this view.

At the end of the fifth century the Tu-kiu became 175
very prosperous, probably thanks to their metal industry and the richness of the mountains near which they settled, and in A. D. 530 their prince Tumen (Tumin) threw off the yoke of the Jwen-Jwen and soon subjugated all the Turkic states of Central Asia to himself, adopting the title of Il-Khagan.[2] For a short time—

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[1] Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[2] It would seem that the title Khagan (Khan), usually so closely 643
associated with the Turks, and occurring in the Turkic inscriptions 177
of the Orkhon, is not Turkic, but Tungus. But this hypothesis of Blochet holds good only if it be assumed that the Jwen-Jwen were Tungus, and that Tumen used their title after taking the hegemony in Central Asia from them. The title used by the chiefs of the Huns was Chab-gu, and at the time when the Huns were at the height of their power the chiefs of the Jwen-Jwen Tungus adopted the title Chab-gu, until at the beginning of the fifth century they were strong enough to impose on other people their own title of Khagan, which was taken up by Tuimien in 552 (Blochet, *op. cit.*, p. 305).

175 from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the seventh centuries—the Turks of Central Asia were again united and independent, as at the time of Mété. Soon, however, the eastern part of the empire passed under Chinese domination. Then it again became independent under the Uigur dynasty (A. D. 744–847).

177 The western part of the Tumen Empire escaped the domination of the Chinese only to fall under Arabian influence, and subsequently under the intellectual supremacy of Iran, during the renaissance of Iranian culture under the dynasty of the Samanides in the tenth century. Thus the splendour of Transoxania at that time was obviously the work of the Persians, not of the Turks, who must be judged rather by the civilization of the Eastern Empires. It was from these Eastern Empires that the main migrations of the Turks of that epoch originated.

From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries the Turks under Karluk[1] and Seljuk advanced into Turkestan, increasing the Turkic population there and destroying the Iranian culture. Some of them pushed on farther towards Asia Minor, while others followed a northern route via the Caspian and Black Sea steppes.

101 Four main groups of Turkic invaders of Southern Russia can be distinguished between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries: the Pyechenyeg or Kangli, the Khazar (possibly the plural of Khazak, Kaizak), the Uz (Ghuz) or Turki, and the Kuman (Kipchak) or Polovtsy.[2]

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[101] [1] A. Vambéry identifies the people of Karluk with the tribe of Naiman, and says that they were Turks (*op. cit.*, p. 15). Cahun would also class the tribe of Naiman, as well as the other Christian tribe, the Kirei, as Turks (*op. cit.*, pp. 208–9), while Skrine and Ross class both Kirei and Naiman as Mongols (*op. cit.*, p. 152).

[2] P. Golubowski, *op. cit.*, p. 56. See p. 46.

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When the Khazar appeared in Eastern Europe at the end of the ninth century they pushed the Pyechenyeg, who had already been there for about half a century, towards the west. Again, the Pyechenyeg, as they were forced westwards, drove before them, into the Danube region, the Magyars, the Asiatic people who preceded the Pyechenyeg in their westward migration.

The Kirghis appear again in this second period. During the supremacy of the Karluk (from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the twelfth centuries) they occupied the country stretching from the Yenisei to the westernmost part of Tian-Shan. Here they developed almost independently of the Karluk. When in the twelfth century the Kara-Kidan extended their power over Tian-Shan, they had great trouble in subjugating the Kirghis.

Third Period. A new era in the history of the Turks begins with the Jinghis Khan invasions at the very beginning of the thirteenth century. It is still a disputed point whether the Jinghis Khan invasions can be called Mongol, or whether they were largely Turkic, but carried out under the military supremacy of a handful of Mongolian steppe nomads. It began, as Professor Parker says, 'in the humblest way, grew as it rolled over the plains like a huge snowball, absorbing almost everything in its way'.[1]

Until then the main struggles of China had been with the two neighbouring races, the Hiung-nu and the Tung-hu, and it is somewhat obscure what position the Mongols occupied towards these races. One thing is certain, however, that culturally the Mongols were the most backward people, since the Tung-hu were

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[1] Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

● 175 always influenced by Chinese civilization and the Hiung-nu by Chinese plus Iranian.[1] This will explain why Jinghis Khan himself and all his dynasty were under obligations to Turkic culture. We hear that Jinghis Khan had as preceptor for his sons a Uigur Turk named Tatatungo,[2] and in the religious and cultural toleration he is known to have shown to the conquered countries the preference was given to the Turks. Two Turkic sovereigns contemporary with Jinghis Khan, Ouang Khan ('Prester John') of the Kirei and Tai-Yang-Khan of the Naïman, were devoted Nestorian Christians.

101 Thanks to the researches of Rashid al-Dīn, it is

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[1] Such would be the view obtained from as independent a standpoint as possible. It must be remembered, however, that Mongolian scholars would be ready to find a much larger Mongol element present in pre-Jinghis Khan times, and would attribute the Jinghis Khan conquests to the genius of the Mongolic race. There are tribes, such as the ancient 'Tatars'—some of them, namely the Otui and Tokus 'Tatars', mentioned in the inscriptions of Bilghe Khan in the Orkhon valley as dependent on Turkic *ela* (confederacy)—whom Mongolian scholars such as Father Jakinth Bichurin would reckon with the Mongols, while the Turkic scholar N. A. Aristoff reckons them with the Turks. And if a Tungus scholar cared to trace the origin of the name Tatar (a subdivision of Tatan) in the Chinese annals as translated by Bichurin, he would find that the name Tatan was adopted in the ninth century by a branch of the Mo-ho (Mokho) who were descendants of Sushen and Ilu, now recognized as being of Tungus race. In the twelfth century the Tatan confederacy was composed of Mongol, Khere, Taigut, and Tatar tribes. Bichurin gives Jinghis Khan as one of the four princes belonging to it. (W. Thomsen, 'On the Orkhon and Yenisei Monuments with Inscriptions', *J. Min. Educ.*, June, 1898; J. Bichurin, *Notes on Mongolia*, vol. II, pt. iii, pp. 174–7; N. A. Aristoff, 'Notes on the Ethnic Composition of the Turkic Tribes and Nations', *L. A. T.*, 1896, III and IV, pp. 277–456.)

[2] Skrine and Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

possible to obtain a clear idea of the tribes inhabiting 141
Central Asia in his time. From his knowledge of them 144
and the information he collected, he divides them into three groups: (1) the Ogus Turks and their kindred, of purely Turkic blood; (2) the tribes which were taken for Mongols in the thirteenth century, but who were in fact Mongolized Turks; (3) the tribes of purely Mongol blood, who lived on the eastern and northern outskirts of the Turkic lands.[1] Hence the tribes called pure Turks by Rashid al-Dīn probably inhabited the lands which are known to have recovered their Turkic features after the death of Jinghis Khan.

Of the states that arose after the death of Jinghis 175 ●
Khan in 1227 the most Turkic were the Middle Empire (Eastern and Western Turkestan), ruled over by his son Jagatai and his descendants, and Dasht-i-Kipchak, i.e. the country of the lower Volga, the North Caspian Steppes, the Aral Steppes, and Western Siberia, ruled over by another son, Juji, and his descendants.

Turkic in feeling and in culture as were Jagatai and his line, they were succeeded in 1360 by Timur, a chief of Moghulistan, purely Turkic in blood as in sympathies, who founded the brilliant Timurid dynasty.[2] 'The annals of this house were rendered illustrious by the names of poets, philosophers, and theologians which are still household words throughout the East.'[3] Among its famous members was the great general, philosopher, and writer Mirza Baber, whose Memoirs still remain as a monument in the Jagatai language.[4]

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[1] Radloff, *Concerning the Uigur*, p. 1.

[2] L. Cahun (*op. cit.*) takes Timur to be a descendant of Jagatai.

[3] Skrine and Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[4] See p. 27.

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The splendour of the Timurids was checked by the advance of the Kaizak-Usbegs at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. These brought new blood, partly Turanian, partly Mongol, into a region which was becoming Iranized. The Usbegs, who claimed descent from Jinghis Khan through his son Juji, appeared in Transoxania about the time when the Turko-Tatars were losing their dominion over Muscovite Russia, forming, as it were, a returning wave of Turks, whose three hundred years of mastery in Eastern Europe proved a failure, in that they neither entirely subdued their Russian foes, nor entirely assimilated themselves with them.

The history of the Usbegs in Transoxania is the history of three separate Khanates, those of Bokhara, Khiva, and Kokand, for the Usbeg conquerors were never strong enough to form an empire equal to that of the Timurids or of Jinghis Khan, or perhaps had not enough of the spirit of unity and the power of organization so strongly developed among the Timurids to achieve such a task.

The Turks of the Altai and Western Siberia, who had succumbed to the power of Jinghis Khan after but slight resistance, became independent after the fall of the Golden Horde. Their western branch started an independent state along the River Ishim. In the middle of the fourteenth century they divided into two, one with its capital at Chingi-Tura (now Tiumien), and later at Isker (Sybir), and the other along the River Ishim. In the fifteenth century Khan Kuchum moved with his Kaizak from the Aral-Caspian steppes and overran both empires, creating a great Siberian Khanate from the Urals to the left tributaries of the Ob. In 1583

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his capital Isker fell into the hands of the Cossacks under Yermak.

Another Turkic state, which had also become independent after the death of Jinghis Khan, offered more resistance to the Russians than did the Khanate of Kuchum. This was a state of the Kirghis, or rather a confederacy of four states,[1] including among its *kyshtymy* (subjects, slaves) many Finnic and Samoyedic peoples.

Very little is heard of the Kirghis from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. They appear again in the fifteenth century at the time of the fall of the Jagatai dynasty, when it is recorded that the Kaizak population was enlarged by new additions from the Kangli and Kipchak tribes. In the seventeenth century the Kirghis, emancipated from the rule of the Jagatai, were employing the Kaizak in their fights against the Mongol Kalmuck. It was probably then that the Kirghis and the Kaizak began to intermix, and as the result of this struggle with the Kalmuck part of the Kirghis and the Kaizak migrated to Ferghana.

At the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries the Kirghis state on the Yenisei, though its position was not to be compared with what it was in the most flourishing period from the seventh to the tenth centuries, still carried on the tradition of the old Khakas, and was an agricultural state, highly organized politically, if not strong in a military sense. The first Russians to invade the Kirghis state in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, namely the Cossacks from Tomsk, made a distinction between these Kirghis

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[1] The four states were Altir, Altisar, Isar, and Tuba or Tubiu. (N. N. Kosmin, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–21. See also *Historical Documents*, published by the Imperial Archaeological Commission.)

● 175 and the Kaizak whom they came across in their conquest of the Kuchum Khanate.[1] It was only subsequently that the Kaizak were named by the Russians Kirghis-Kaizak, and that the Kirghis of Yenisei, after their migration southwards before the Russian advance, became known as the Burut-Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis.

Fourth Period. The fourth and last epoch in the history of the Turks in Central Asia begins with the Russian conquest of a more regular character than the exploits of the Volga Cossacks. In the north it began with the foundation of Tomsk (1604) on land wrung from the Kuchum Khanate, and it ended in 1647 with the foundation of Okhotsk on the Pacific. In the south the first milestone of the Russian advance was the destruction of the Khanate of Kazan in 1552; the Khanate of Astrakhan shared its fate in 1556. For a moment the Russian success was checked by the rising of the Yaik Cossacks, to whose efforts the previous advance was largely due. After the suppression of their rising these Cossacks, renamed the Ural Cossacks, again became a Russian weapon, moving against the Kaizak and the Turkic tribes of the steppes. Although the Kaizak were nominally subjugated in 1734 they were not really conquered until Russia became master of Turkestan, and there was a great rising against Russia in 1840, when Kenissari, the Sultan of the Great Orda, made another attempt to unite the Kaizak into one great independent nation. In 1864 the Russians succeeded in encircling the Kaizak territories with a line of military defences, thus cutting them off from the other Central Asiatic powers, just as in the eighteenth century they succeeded in encircling the Finno-Turkic nation of the Bashkir between the Volga and the Urals. 175

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[1] See M. A. Czaplicka, 'The Evolution of the Cossack Communities', *J. Centr. As. S.*, May, 1918.

The first Turkic intellectual centre to fall into Russian hands was Tashkent in 1865, and three years later the capital of the Iranian Turks, Samarkand (known to the Greeks as Marakanda, and captured by Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C.), lost its independence. This decided the fate of Bokhara, which became a dependent state, and a little later, in 1875, Khiva succumbed also. The Khanate of Kokand, conquered in 1875, was renamed the Ferghana Territory. The next tribe to be subdued was the Turkomans, whose courageous and obstinate defence was broken by the fall of Gheok-Tepe in 1881. In 1895 the eastern boundary of Russian territory was fixed at the Pamir.

The Central Asiatic territories were never colonized 636 to the same extent as Siberia, or even the Caspian Steppe country; they might be called dependencies rather than colonies. Economically during the last two decades these provinces have begun to increase their output of cotton, fruit, and other local products, but intellectually the Iranian Turks have vegetated in the antiquated remnants of the Arabo-Persian civilizations, influenced gradually by the slow, heavy progress of Russian culture. The Turanian Turks, in much greater political subjection than the Iranian, and economically entirely dependent on Russian colonization, have kept their primitive culture from spurious elements, either Arabo-Persian or Chinese, but they are, of all the Turks, the most amenable to the influence of Russian peasant life.

A 175 273 Marco Polo also describes wines made of dates or of sugar and dates, sugar, rice, grain, and grapes. (36) Again distillation and spirits are not mentioned.

36. 1908, 91, 104, 280f., 476, 500.

A 175 272 [273] Carpini reports of the Tatars: "If they have horse milk, they drink it in enormous quantities, also the milk of sheep, goats, and camels. They do not have wine, beer, and mead unless these beverages happen to be imported from other nations or sent as presents. Because they do not have horse milk in winter, unless they are wealthy, they boil millet with water and make such a thin broth of it that one cannot eat it but must drink it. . . In summer, however, when they A [262] have enough horse milk, they seldom eat meat unless they just happen to /74/ be presented with some or kill game or a bird on the hunt." A [273] (37) Carpini explicitly says that spirits are not known; however, he

37. Johann de Plano Carpini, 1930, 101.

does not mention kumiss either.

Tu 273 175 Ibn Batuta reports: "The chief beverage of the Turks is wine made from honey." The same is reported by Chinese travelers of the 13th century A D. (38)

38. W. W. Rockhill, 1900, 62, footnote 1.

All informants mention the ordinary kumiss and other alcoholic beverages but not spirits, and they do not know the word Arrack. Therefore, the distillation process must have been unknown there; otherwise they would probably have described it.

4. Arrack and Distillation

Tu Ti [114] [175] 273 It is often maintained that the preparation of milk schnapps, distillation, came to the nomads of Inner Asia through the Tibetans. Inasmuch as the Tibetan nomads do not know kūmiss, much less distilled kumiss, and do not make distilled schnapps from grain, they cannot have introduced the process. Others believe that distillation was brought to the nomads through Chinese or European influence. (39)

39. Ebert, Reallexikon, Volume XI, 40.

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113, 177, 233 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For data on herding ratios as indices of acculturation, see 10: Krader, AHl Mongolia, pp. 161-163.]

121 essential than the linguistic one, uniting Central Asia with Constantinople.[1]

A brief review of the Pan-Turanian programme will be necessary before approaching the main object of this essay, i.e. the study of the Eastern or Central Asiatic
103 Turks. The term Central Asia, in accordance with Humboldt's definition, embraces the area lying between the Himalayas and the Altai Mountains, the Caspian
000 Sea and Khingan Range. As far as the Western or Osmanly Turks are concerned, they are dealt with in several recent publications, namely, Sir William Ramsay's *The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor* (Oxford University Press, 1916), Professor H. A. Gibbon's *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1916), Lord Eversley's *The Turkish Empire: its Growth and Decay* (Fisher Unwin, 1917), and *Le Problème Turc*, by Count Léon Ostroróg.[2] Though not dealing primarily with the racial question, these books give a vivid picture of the variety of races living under Osmanly (Ottoman) government, and of the artificiality
186 of the ties that unite them. Sir William Ramsay further tells us how the Osmanly government has tried to develop feelings of unity and patriotism among its subjects on the ground of the common participation in
186 the Islamic religion. But Pan-Islamism—Islam not
•177 being exclusively the property of the Turks—would in itself hardly serve to strengthen the position of the
565 Turkic elements of the empire against Arabian and other Mahometans.

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[1] Since these pages were written the British advance in Asiatic Turkey, together with the situation produced by the Russian Revolution, has led the German-Osmanly diplomatists to revise some details of their programme. See Appendix B.

[2] An English version of this work, entitled *The Turkish Enigma*, in Winifred Stephens's translation, has just been announced by Messrs. Chatto & Windus.

other alien Mahometans. To give prominence to the 186
Turkic element was not so simple, considering that five 177 ●
centuries of residence in Europe have influenced the 565
ruling classes of the Osmanly in such a way that they
have completely lost contact with the Turkic masses
subject to their rule; while these, again, by mixture and
contact with the races of Asia Minor and south-eastern
Europe, have lost the Asiatic character that they once
possessed. Yet the upper classes of the Osmanly did
not become thoroughly Europeanized, as the Hungarians
did under similar conditions, and hence their chances
of assimilating the lands and peoples that they conquered
in Europe were almost non-existent even before
the Balkan War. After that war, there was nothing 186
left to the Osmanly but to turn to Asia, upon which
they look as a land of expansion and of compensation
for what they have lost in Europe. Hence, a justification
for this change of policy was necessary, and this was
easily found in the so-called principle of the self-determination
of nationalities. The Osmanly thereupon
proclaimed themselves to be of one nationality with
the people of the far Asiatic lands of Turkestan,
Jungaria, and the Siberian steppes.

It may be argued that there is something in the 000
political atmosphere of our century which makes people
revert, as it were, to past ages. All who have affinities
with both Europe and Asia seem to be ready now to
claim their Asiatic blood, as we see that the Bulgarians,
the Hungarians, and the Siberian Russians are doing.

But in the case of the Osmanly the sincerity of such 517
a movement becomes doubtful, when we consider that 186
the Osmanly *intelligentsia* have so far never felt them- 565
selves at one even with their own Osmanly common
people. Thus they have never passed, as have the

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from the people who left behind the old archaeological remains in Turan (Central Asia).

773 In many instances this propaganda assumes naïve form. Half-legendary kings and leaders of the Turks in Asia have been set up by the propagandists before the Turkish soldiers as hero-ancestors—to say nothing of such historical personages as Attila and Timur! Then again, a legend found by European investigators among many Asiatic Turks, to the effect that they originated from a she-wolf, has now provided an occasion for the abandonment on Turkish standards of the Mahometan crescent in favour of the pre-Mahometan Turkish wolf. The legend, of which there are several versions current among the Turks and Mongols of Central Asia, relates that a white she-wolf—or perhaps a woman with the name Zena (sometimes Bura), which means 'she-wolf'—found and reared an abandoned man-child, who became the ancestor of the Turks (or in the Mongol version—of the Mongols). This explains the appearance of that animal on the war standards of the early Central Asiatic Turks, particularly the Tu-kiu branch, a design imitated by the
● [177] Osmanly during the present war. Though the Osmanly took up this legend as having been originally Asiatic, the latest researches seem to support the theory of de Guignes that it had a European origin, and was imported into Asia by the Huns. Assuming that the Huns were of Turkic stock, de Guignes thinks that when they were defeated in Europe and retired by way of the Volga, the Urals, and the Altai into Turan, they brought with them the Roman legend of Romulus and Remus, and gave it a Turkic setting by associating it with local Turkic traditions, so that

subsequently it was accepted as if it had been of local 773
origin.[1]

Such is the story of one of the 'historic heritages' claimed by the Osmanly. But, as a matter of fact, the more current version of the origin of the Turks is that which derives their tribes from Ogus-Khan, son of Kara-Khan, grandson of Dik-Bakui, great-grandson of Abuldji-Khan, who was a direct descendant of Noah. Such at least is the version given in one of the first attempts at recording the Turkic myths relating to their origin.[2]

If from the realm of mythology we turn to the physical 144
or racial side, we are in perplexity as to why the 177 ●
drafters of the Pan-Turanian propaganda entirely dis- 197
regard the fact that the Osmanly have now more Albanian, Slavonic, Thracian, and Circassian blood in their veins than they have Turkic; that their culture is more Persian, Arabian, and European than Central Asiatic; and that even in language there are divergences no less wide than are to be found among the languages of the Germanic family. All differences are disregarded, and linguistic similarity is magnified into linguistic identity.

Had the Turks and their allies, the Central Powers, 186
been successful in their military plans, their intentions as regards Central Asia were as follows: '*Thirty to forty millions of Turks will become independent, and together with the ten millions of Ottoman Turks, will form a nation of fifty millions, which may perhaps be compared with that of Germany in that it will have the strength and*

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[1] J. de Guignes, *Histoire générale des Huns*, vol. I, pt. ii, Book I, pp. 371–3.

[2] Recorded by Rashid al-Dīn, quoted by Radloff, *Concerning the Uigur*, p. 1.

includes these people, and there is some linguistic excuse 101 for this in the case of the Azerbeijan. Before the present [665] war representatives of many Russian Mahometans could be found at the Pan-Islamic Conferences in Turkey, and within Russia they formed a 'Russian Mussulman Party' in the Duma, but so far they have never been united on ground of racial or national community. Although these East European Turks will play an important rôle in the politics of the near future, and have already played their part in the Caucasus, they will not be dealt with here, since they are not typically representative of the Eastern Turks. Besides, the problems relating to them are beyond the boundary of Asia.

The classification here proposed differs from that given by Vambéry[1] in 1885, in that his first four groups, viz. Siberian Turks, Central Asiatic Turks, Volga Turks, and Pontus Turks, are grouped together under the name Eastern Turks, leaving his fifth group, Western Turks, unaltered.

The Eastern Turks.

Before tracing the Eastern Turks in history, some 636 account must be given of them as they are at the present day. Politically, almost all of them are dependent on Russia; only some 1½–2 millions are subject to China. Culturally and ethnically they fall into two groups, differing widely from each other.

The first group consists of the Turks of Turkestan 101 and some of the Turks of the Caspian Steppe country. 177 – Since their appearance in this region they have been constantly under Iranian influence, and hence have

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[1] A. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 85–6.

101 physically and culturally become Iranized. Considering
177 also that they settled in the country which already in the time of the *Avesta* bore the name Iran (as opposed to Turan), there is ample justification for calling them the *Iranian Turks*.

The other group consists of the Turks—many of them called Tatars—of the Steppe country, Southern Siberia, Jungaria, and Northern Mongolia, including the Altai and Sayan Mountains. Thanks to the geographical structure of the country, these Turks have been more shut off from foreign influence than the first group, though they have always been to a certain extent under obligations to the culture of China, and lately to that of Russia also. These may be called the *Turanian Turks*.

162 The Eastern Turks in Asiatic Russia number altogether some eight millions,[1] of which the Iranian Turks account for about six millions. The Iranian Turks form 92 per cent. of the population of Turkestan.
[177] Out of the 60 per cent. of Turkic population in the Caspian Steppe country, about one-third may be regarded as Iranized.

The Turanian Turks form an unimportant percentage among the Russian, Mongols, and Chinese in the midst of whom they live; their number in south-western discoveries, who used the Aramaean characters during the three or four centuries which divide the time of Arsasides (whose power was destroyed by Ardashir, founder of the Sassanian Empire in 220 A.D.) from that of the Yenisei inscriptions. The assumption is that in some remote parts of the Sassanian Empire the Aramaean characters still continued to exist for some time, and that the earliest Turkic writings are still undiscovered. In any case, Professor Donner was disposed to take the Aramaean rather than the Indo-Bactrian or Kharosthi as the prototype of the Yenisei writing.[1] The [177] popular opinion current until recently, however, was that the Uigur obtained their written character from the Nestorian monks, who exercised considerable influence in Turanian lands from the fifth century A.D. onwards, and who themselves used a Syriac language. Though the influence of the Nestorian missionaries was doubtless very profound, and though their language was probably known to some of the Turks, especially to the Uigur and the Kirei, the Yenisei inscriptions seem to have been modelled on a Semitic writing more primitive than the Syriac of the fifth century A.D., or even than the character in use during the latter part of the Arsasides dynasty, i. e. the third century A.D.[2]

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[1] The statistics here given concerning the Turks of the Russian State are based on the census of 1897 and an additional local census of 1911. See *Asiatic Russia*, edited by the Immigration Committee, St. Petersburg, 1914, vol. I. It should be noted, however, that the later census shows an increase over the earlier one greater than can be accounted for by a natural increase in the birth-rate. This is probably due to the fact that the census of 1911 was carried out by more careful observers. It is more reliable as far as linguistic grouping goes, but its estimates of the number of people professing Russian Orthodoxy are less correct.

Here must be mentioned a suggestion coming from

asceticism.[1] In a way, they play the rôle of Calvinists 779 in the Mahometan world; on the other hand, the influence of Buddhism still remains in the towns, while in the mountains and steppes there still lives a strong animistic cult, sometimes intermixed with Mahometanism.

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[1] Professor F. W. K. Müller, of Berlin, advances a theory that the Uigur character, especially in its most archaic form, is an adaptation of the Soghdian ('Uigurica', *Abh. Akad.*, Berlin, 1908-10). M. Gauthiot, accepting this, says that the distinctive character of the Uigur inscriptions is due to the adaptation to the old Turkic language of the phonetic system of a quite different type of language, viz. North Iranian and Soghdian (R. Gauthiot, 'De l'Alphabet Sogdien', *J. A.*, Jan.–Feb., 1911, p. 90).

[2] O. Donner, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

Mahometanism, though introduced among the upper [797] classes in the tenth century, did not spread among the masses of Turkestan until the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and it is now known that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Christianity, especially Nestorian Christianity, was a great rival of Mahometanism in the western part of Turkestan.

The people of the eastern part of Turkestan, especially the Kirghis and various descendants of the Uigur, were never great adherents of Mahometanism. In general, it is the Sarts, the Usbegs, and the Tadjik who are the most devoted Mussulmans. Still, if we compare the [162] number of Mahometans in Russian Central Asia in 1911 (8,223,982) with their number in 1897 (6,996,654), it appears that Mahometanism is still spreading in Turkestan, though its increase in Siberia is negligible (128,403 in 1911, against 126,587 in 1897). The nomads of the north-east—i.e. [177] of Semirechie, Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, and Uralsk—have been but slightly affected by Mahometanism, and it is curious to know that some of the most Turkic sections of all the Eastern Turks, the Kaizak and the Kirghis, accepted it only after the Russian conquest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, assisted by the Russian officials! They still follow their customary law, *zang* (*ʿādat* in Arabian), and if they give it up it is to accept, not the Mahometan written law, *sheriat*, others form a chorus. The feathered thread is the road by which the song rises to the sky. The meat which has been prepared on the 'senior fire' is taken out and carried round in a circle, in the direction of the sun. After that the meat, with all the articles used in its preparation, is burnt on the 'senior fire', and if the smoke goes straight to the sky it is a good omen for the clan. Then only is the meat which was prepared on the 'junior fire' ceremonially eaten, after which all the bones and remains of the feast have to be burnt on the 'senior fire'.[1] 796

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[1] A. Vambéry, 'Muhammadanism in Asiatic Turkey', *E. R. E.*, 1915, pp. 885-8.

Ethnography.

The Iranian Turks.

The question now arises, What Turkic nations go to form the group of Iranian Turks? 000

THE TURKOMANS. Their number in Persia, Khiva, and Bokhara is about 600,000. Of these 290,000 (in 1911, as against 248,000 in 1897) are in Transcaspian territory of Turkestan. Among the Turkomans subject to Russia must also be reckoned the Caucasian Turkomans, some 11,000.[2] 162

The Turkomans of Turkestan were subjugated by the Russians in 1881 after a stubborn resistance. The Russians put a stop to their slave trade, and from that time they began to be more settled and to take up agriculture. But even now a large proportion are still nomadic horse-breeders, adhering to the customary law 177 ● 105

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[1] S. D. Maynagasheff, 'Sacrifice to the Sky among the Beltir', *Literary Collection of the Anthropological Museum of the Acad. of Science*, Petrograd, 1915, vol. III, pp. 93-102.

[2] The Turkomans of the Ottoman Empire, commonly called Turkmen or Avshahr, are not dealt with here.

Kalpak who in the eleventh century were the borderland 101 population of Southern Russia, it is difficult to ascertain, 174 but possibly they re-migrated to Asia from European Russia in the eighteenth century, where Howorth thinks they formed one tribe of the Nogai-Pyechenyeg on the Yaik River.[1]

The Turanian Turks.

It is impossible to draw a well-defined line between 101 the Iranian and the Turanian groups of the Eastern Turks. Thus the Kaizak, who are here reckoned among the Iranian Turks, are in many respects closely allied to the Kara-Kirghis, who may be called the descendants of the Yenisei Kirghis. They have also affinities with the Turks of Eastern Turkestan, of Northern Mongolia, and of Siberia, all of whom might be called Turanian.

It is important to bear in mind that at present the 177 adjective 'Turanian', as applied to these people, really 101 means that they are under Mongolian, Chinese, and Tibetan cultural influences, while they have also retained to some extent the original traits of their pre-Mahometan Turkic culture. The Iranian group has fewer traits of this old Turkic culture left, owing to the predominance of Persian and Arabic cultural elements, and when we pass to the Western Turks, the infiltration of Mediterranean and Central European influence leaves few points of resemblance, other than language, between them and the Turanian Turks living one on each side of the main mass of Turkic-speaking peoples.

THE KIRGHIS, as has been said,[2] are to be distinguished

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[1] H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. II, p. 5.

[2] [See Gregory 116 p39 - - Analysis]

101 177 from the people erroneously called Kirghis, namely the Kaizak, who were dealt with among the Iranian Turks. The Kirghis, or 'Eastern Kirghis', are as a matter of fact, together with the Altai 'Tatars' and the Kirei, the truest representatives of the Turanian Turks. The name seems to be derived[1] from *kir* (*kr*), 'cultivated field', and shows that these people were originally agriculturists, as indeed we know they were during at least the period from the sixth century up to the time when the occupation of the upper Yenisei, first by the Mongol Altyn Khan, and then by the Russians, forced many of them to migrate farther south, and to take up a pastoral life. Even now part of them are agriculturists and hunters, and it is only that section which was subjected to the most frequent migrations that have adopted what may be called horse-culture. This may be defined as a mode of life dependent on cattle and especially horse breeding, hence their nomadic habits. They use the horse for riding, he provides them with food, and to a certain extent with clothing, while for heavy draught work it is the dromedary which is chiefly used.

101 The Kirghis are called by the Russians 'Eastern', 'Burut', 'Black' (Kara), or 'Mountain' Kirghis; the latter is used to distinguish them from the Kaizak Kirghis of the plains. Their home was since the beginning of our era in the valley of the Yenisei, whence they moved south under the advance of the

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101 773 [1] Another derivation of the name is *kyrk kys*, meaning 'forty girls', and the legend tracing the Kirghis from forty women from China who married forty men of U-si seems to uphold this (Schott, 'Über die ächten Kirgisen', *Abhandl. Berliner Akad.*, 1865, p. 432). But as a matter of fact the name by which they call themselves is not Kirghis but Krgyz.

by their neighbours. It must be remembered that 233
while the reindeer is not known to the Turks of Tian-Shan and the upper Yenisei, the latter people have several other species of deer, especially the elk (*Cervus alces*) and the maral (*Cervus elephas*). The domesticated deer is rare.

Forming a wedge between the Tungusic and the 177 ●
Palaeo-Siberian tribes, the Yakut impose their language, together with many of their customs, on both these groups, as well as on the Russian settlers. In religion [791]
they are typical Shamanists.

On meeting a Yakut among the various Mongoloid 142
peoples of the north, one is at once struck with the difference in his physiognomy. His hair and eyes are darker, his nose narrower and better marked, and on the whole he gives the impression of possessing Southern, and one might almost say Semitic, characteristics. And yet he can hardly be suspected of having any Arabic strain.

The *Siberian Tatars* live chiefly in the Tomsk and 101
Yeniseisk Governments. In the Tomsk Government, 191
70 per cent. of them do not know any language but their own; the remaining 30 per cent. speak Russian also. In the Yeniseisk Government only 12 per cent. speak the Russian language besides their own.

As to their religion some of them are Mahometans, 779
namely: 101

1. Tobolsk Tatars and 'Siberian Bokharians' of the Tobolsk district.
2. The Baraba Tatars of the Kainsk district.
3. The Tomsk Tatars of the Mariinsk district.
4. The Kuznietsk Tatars of the Kuznietsk and Barnaul district.

Others[1] are still Shamanists or 'Christian-Shamanists', 101 177 791

[1] [i.e. Siberian Tartars--- Analyst]

101 people who mix their pagan practices with some of the
● 177 Russian Orthodox Church beliefs. Those are:
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5. The Forest (Chern) Tatars of the Biisk district.
6. The Teleut and Telengit of the Biisk and Kuznietsk districts.
7. The Kumandits (or 'White Kalmucks') of the Kuznietsk and Biisk districts.
8. The Shortes and Lebyedints of the Kuznietsk district.
9. The Kyzyl and Chulim natives of the Achinsk district.
10. The Abakan Tatars (Kachints, Koibal, Beltir, and Sagai) of the Minusinsk district.
11. The Karagass of the Nijneudinsk district of the government of Irkutsk.
12. The Kamashints of the Kansk district.

177 The *Teleut* of the Kuznietsk district are perhaps the
101 most Russified, while the *Telengit*, along the rivers
144 Biya and Katun, are very much mixed with the Mongols.
The following tribes are said to be mixed with the Ugrian-Ostyak, the Yenisei-Ostyak, and the Samoyed, though in culture, language, and tradition they are now Turkic:

1, The Kamashints; 2, the Karagass; 3, the Koibal; 4, the Beltir; 5, the Kyzyl; 6, the Shortes; 7, the Kumandints.

144 The racial origin of these tribes has been defined,
618 often superficially, merely judging from the names of
their clans. Thus the Kyzyl (*Kysi*, 'man') are composed of ten classes: Kyzyl, Malo-Achin, Bolshe-Achin, Agy, Bassagar, Kamnar, Argyn, Kalmak, Kurchik, Shui. Of these, Argyn clan is said to be the remnant of the Kaizak of the Middle Orda, because those people have also had a clan of this name. Kalmak clan is also

powerful Finnic state of Ugra, which in the tenth and 174
eleventh centuries stretched between the Volga and the Urals, owes its name to the Uigur.

Of the Uigur who stayed in Asia, i.e. the Togus 175
Uigur, we know that in the fifth century they emancipated themselves from the power of the Jwen-Jwen, and created an independent state called by the Chinese Hao-fu. At the time of the hegemony of the Tu-kiu the Uigur also were subdued to them. When in turn the leading rôle among the Turks of Central Asia passed to the Uigur dynasty (A. D. 744–847), the name of the state was again Togus-Uigur ('Nine Tribes'), though it was composed of more than that number of tribes. The capital of the Khagan of the Togus-Uigur was Karakorum on the River Orkhon. Some fourteen Khagans ruled during the period of Uigur power. When, in consequence of the intrigues of the Chinese with the other Turkic tribes, the Uigur dynasty and political power were undermined and finally overthrown at the hands of the Kirghis (A. D. 847), the Uigur culture, which was of a high order, still flourished in Western China, Eastern Turkestan, and the district of Hami. It was in that district that the later Uigur state, under the dynasty of the Arslan Khans, continued its existence, and curiously enough it enjoyed an independent and influential position, since its civilization spread among the nomadic Mongols, and even in Transoxania. This position the Uigur owed solely to their great ability, and to their sedentary agricultural mode of life, which raised them, as it did the Yenisei Kirghis, above their nomadic neighbours. They came under the in- [177]
fluence of Buddhism, of Christianity, and later on of Islam. In the western part of the Uigur country

adopted the name of the mountain Durkö as a tribal name. 000

There seems to be some confusion as to the geographical position of the mountain thus connected with the rise of the Durkö, Tu-kiu, or Turks. Professor Parker[1] places it not far from the city of Shan-tan in the modern province of Kan-su, which in the sixth century was called Kin-shan, i. e. 'Golden Mountains'. But the birthplace of the Turks is usually held to be the Altai Mountains, which are also called Kin-shan. Since when we first hear of the Turks they are expert metal-workers, it would seem that the Altai, with its incomparable mineral wealth, is more likely to be the Kin-shan of the Chinese sources. All modern archaeological and ethnological investigations support this view. 103

At the end of the fifth century the Tu-kiu became very prosperous, probably thanks to their metal industry and the richness of the mountains near which they settled, and in A.D. 530 their prince Tumen (Tumin) threw off the yoke of the Jwen-Jwen and soon subjugated all the Turkic states of Central Asia to himself, adopting the title of Il-Khagan.[2] For a short time— 175

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[1] Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[2] It would seem that the title Khagan (Khan), usually so closely associated with the Turks, and occurring in the Turkic inscriptions of the Orkhon, is not Turkic, but Tungus. But this hypothesis of Blochet holds good only if it be assumed that the Jwen-Jwen were Tungus, and that Tumen used their title after taking the hegemony in Central Asia from them. The title used by the chiefs of the Huns was Chab-gu, and at the time when the Huns were at the height of their power the chiefs of the Jwen-Jwen Tungus adopted the title Chab-gu, until at the beginning of the fifth century they were strong enough to impose on other people their own title of Khagan, which was taken up by Tuimien in 552 (Blochet, *op. cit.*, p. 305). 643 177

175 from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the seventh centuries—the Turks of Central Asia were again united and independent, as at the time of Mété. Soon, however, the eastern part of the empire passed under Chinese domination. Then it again became independent under the Uigur dynasty (A. D. 744–847).

●177 The western part of the Tumen Empire escaped the domination of the Chinese only to fall under Arabian influence, and subsequently under the intellectual supremacy of Iran, during the renaissance of Iranian culture under the dynasty of the Samanides in the tenth century. Thus the splendour of Transoxania at that time was obviously the work of the Persians, not of the Turks, who must be judged rather by the civilization of the Eastern Empires. It was from these Eastern Empires that the main migrations of the Turks of that epoch originated.

From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries the Turks under Karluk[1] and Seljuk advanced into Turkestan, increasing the Turkic population there and destroying the Iranian culture. Some of them pushed on farther towards Asia Minor, while others followed a northern route via the Caspian and Black Sea steppes.

101 Four main groups of Turkic invaders of Southern Russia can be distinguished between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries: the Pyechenyeg or Kangli, the Khazar (possibly the plural of Khazak, Kaizak), the Uz (Ghuz) or Turki, and the Kuman (Kipchak) or Polovtsy.[2]

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[101] [1] A. Vambéry identifies the people of Karluk with the tribe of Naiman, and says that they were Turks (*op. cit.*, p. 15). Cahun would also class the tribe of Naiman, as well as the other Christian tribe, the Kirei, as Turks (*op. cit.*, pp. 208–9), while Skrine and Ross class both Kirei and Naiman as Mongols (*op. cit.*, p. 152).

[2] P. Golubowski, *op. cit.*, p. 56. See p. 46.

113, 61, 178 ●

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/For a discussion of the processes of fusion, fission, and feudalization which have operated in the development of all Turco-Mongol social groupings, see, 2: Hudson, RQ2 Kazak, category 116, pp. 98-105. --Analyst/

101 to their geographical distribution: the 'Baraba Tatars', the 'Altaians', the 'Abakan Tatars', and so on.

The *Yakut*, who are now the northernmost branch of Turkic-speaking people, live along the River Lena right up to the Arctic shore, and in the region between the Lena [162] and the Yenisei as far south as Lake Baikal. They are superior in numbers to all the 'Siberian Tatars' taken together. In 1911 they numbered 245,000, as against 225,000 in 1897, while the 'Tatars' numbered 208,000 in 1911, plus some 4,000 people classed by the Russian officials as 'Turks of undefined nationality', as against 175,000 in 1897, plus some 3,000 'Turks of undefined nationality'.[1]

233 [178] Under the influence of their new environment[2] the Yakut have been driven to take up reindeer-breeding and a nomadic tundra life, but in their social and religious institutions survivals of the more settled conditions of their southern home are still to be seen.[3]

Of all the Turks of Asia the Yakut are the most typical representatives of what may be spoken of as 'reindeer-culture'.[4] The reindeer is to this region what the horse is to the Central Asian steppe-nomads. It supplies food, clothes, bone-implements, and is used for draught work. But while the people who have been living for a long time at the stage of reindeer-culture, such as the Koryak of the north-east or the Samoyed of the north-west, never use reindeer for riding, the Yakut ride their reindeer as their ancestors rode the horse, a practice which is looked upon with disfavour

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[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, pp. 79–80.

[2] See p. 41.

[3] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 1914, pp. 107, 277, 297.

[4] B. Laufer, 'The Reindeer and its Domestication', *Mem. of the Amer. Anthrop. Assoc.*, vol. IV, No. 2, 1917.

101 among the Kirei, who had meanwhile become to some extent Mongolized.[1]

To the south-west of the Kirei, in Kulja and in the western part of Chinese Turkestan, on the slopes of the Tian-Shan, live remnants of various Turanian Turks, sometimes called *Kashgarians*, many of whom are perhaps the direct descendants of the old Uigur, and possibly have also a strain of the pre-Turkic Aryan population of which traces are still to be found in Central Asia. In language, and probably in physical
[779] type, they are among the purest Turanians. Most of them, especially those who are Chinese subjects, are Mahometans. They are chiefly cattle-breeders. Such are the *Yerlik*, the *Kashgarlik*, and the *Yetisherlik*. Those subject to Russia number some 54,000 (in 1911).
● [178] Since the great upheaval caused by the conquests of Jinghis Khan, and the migrations which followed, these people have remained stationary to a degree impossible anywhere but in the heart of the Asiatic continent, but it is not impossible that under a helpful and sympathetic government all of them, whether Russian or Chinese subjects, might awake to play their part in the future history of Asia.

The country to the east of the region occupied by the Chern 'Tatars' or Altaians, and to the south of that occupied by the Abakan 'Tatars', i.e. that part of the Yeniseisk Government between the Sayan Mountains and the Tannu Ola range, is called Uriankhai, and its 100,000 inhabitants are usually grouped together under the same name, Uriankhai, sometimes in its
167 Chinese form, *Uriangut*. The northern part of the country, along the River Ussa, began to be colonized

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[1] While Vambéry and Cahun reckon the Kirei as Turks, Skrine and Ross reckon them as Mongols. See note to p. 72.

113, 15, 181 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For a discussion of personality and culture development among the Turco-Mongol nomads of the steppes of Central Asia, see 6;Tomasic, RFl Great Russia, pp. 22-31]

113, 621, 233, 182 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For material on the nomadic kin-village among the Altaic-speaking peoples of the Asiatic steppe, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 568-574.]

000 it a unilateral kin group; the theorists of the clan cited here have equally consistently called it a unilineal kin group. Too much can easily be made of this distinction; however, it serves to reinforce the primary conceptions of the various proponents, and merely indicates that various leading thinkers have pursued their respective positions to remote points of etymology. The point remains, nevertheless, that a sib-member has little cause to reckon kinship lineally, i.e., backward or forward in time; his relationships are with those of his congeners who are his contemporaries, including two or three ascending generations, and the same number of descending generations; possibly, a fourth generation in either direction may be added if one takes in the references of one's father as well, and of one's son. The clan- and lineage-member, however, must reckon far beyond mortal memory and direct reference; he must have recourse to the oral tradition of his people which covers many centuries, for example in determining the eligibility of two people to marry.

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T.P./82/614

A common body of criteria for the clan has been derived from the theories and definitions of Morgan, Lowie, Kirchhoff, Radcliffe-Brown, Murdock, and Fortes.[1] The systems of consanguinity of the Asiatic steppe societies conform to these criteria of the clan, but have their own configurations unique to themselves; certain of the criteria are more important for the understanding of the

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 7-22 --Analyst]

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kinship systems than others; and among these, the genealogy which serves to constitute the clan as such, and to delineate the unit of exogamy by counting off a segment of itself to make up the prohibited degrees of relationship for marriage, is a central criterion. The clan, with its genealogical orientation, its ranked collateral lineages, its territorial locus, and its generation count in exogamy, is contrasted with the sib on the steppes of Asia. The sib as distinct from the clan is not a widely recognized concept, but has been given adequate theoretical foundation by Lowie and Murdock, and above all, is pragmatically applicable to the analysis of the steppe societies.

The functions of the clan, on the other hand, are not limited exclusively to kinship and consanguinity. These societies have frequently formed vast empires, notably those of Chingis Khan and the Chingisides, Tamurlane, the Golden Horde, as well as monarchies of lesser historical éclat. The clan may be likened to the anvil upon which the political being was hammered out; the clan has served as a politico-military unit, furnishing companies or regiments of cavalry, collecting taxes through the persons of its noble leaders, and administering the laws and regulations of the monarch. Nevertheless, a principle is to be observed that runs through the length of recorded history, and through all the social unities of steppe society from the humblest to the mightiest: the lowliest

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Mongol could claim descent from a common ancestor with his ruler Chingis Khan; the lowliest Kazakh could make a similar claim in regard to his khan, as could a Kalmuk. The steppe society has a structure which may be likened to a set of concentric circles, the widest circle being the whole of Mongol society, the next widest a principality, the next a clan, the next a lineage or set of lineages internally disposed in the same manner, the next the village, and the smallest the extended family.

M. 182 614 565 T.P. 182 614 565

The comparison to a set of concentric circles must be qualified, however, because not all Mongols or Kazakh-Kirgiz are of equal birth; descent lines are collaterally ranked in terms of the birth-order of the respective founders, and at a certain point in the genealogical history of these lines, the highest ranking lineages have assumed noble status, while the others have remained in the commoner estate. The point in genealogical history when the society was split into two estates may be an event recorded in 'objective' history, such as the establishment of an empire, or a war, etc. In any case, it is an event outside the domain of kinship proper. The sibs do not form into a hierarchy of concentric structures; they are more like Kirchhoff's egalitarian clans.

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The sib has had a set of political functions, even though such functions may be less spectacular than those of the clan and of the society with which the clan is

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associated. The sib has served as a unit of administration by outside powers such as the Chinese, who have appointed sib leaders as the rulers of administrative units into which the sibs have been organized. But the sib is not a territorial unit; one's neighbor is not necessarily a fellow sib-mate. Despite the differences in structure and in kinship and political function, the sib of the Asiatic steppe parallels the clan in many respects: kinship is basically agnatic in both; authority is 'transmitted in the line of the eldest sons; if the eldest son's line dies out, it passes to the senior surviving brother; and if there is none such, to the next ranking father's brother, and so forth.

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In regard to pastoral nomadic society of the steppe, the whole is consanguineally related in fact or fiction; however, there is a sharp cleavage between the clan and broader groupings than the clan on the one hand; and between the clan and its component units, such as the lineage, on the other. Only the clan and units larger than the clan, such as the principality, the khanate, etc., are divided into noble and commoner estates; the lineage and the extended family are homogeneously composed of either aristocrats or commoners, but not both. For this reason we may regard the clan not only as having a structure based on consanguinity, but also as a politico-military unit. The politico-military character of the division into estates is ultimately derived from a kinship

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principle; but this is a purely genetic consideration. In actual function, the estates are politically, militarily, and economically distinct divisions. Thus the entire society of the Asiatic steppe is anomalous, for its major units are quasi-political and quasi-consanguineal structures. Because of their consanguineal character, the clan and other major units therefore will be briefly sketched in their specific forms for each of the societies, Buryat, Kalmuk, and so forth. As consanguineal structures, their analysis will afford insight into the kinship relations within smaller units. Nevertheless they cannot be a primary consideration in the analysis of kinship systems because they go beyond this mode of human relationship into the domain of political structure, etc.

Village and Family

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The nomadic village on the Asiatic steppe is formed of a cluster of related families who pasture their herds together, camp together, nomadise together, combine for mutual protection and for religious rites. The village is a unit of local government having at its head an elder who, in company with other respected men of the community, guides its affairs and regulates its conduct, movements and relations with other units, larger, smaller, and coequal. The elder, who is the head of the senior family of the village, together with his compeers, the heads of

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other leading families in the village, adjudicates disputes, maintains the social norms and mores by punishing evildoers, represents the village-kin-community before the reigning prince, oversees payment of tribute and taxes, and the supply of manpower for corvée and military service, attends to the mercantile endebtedness of the community; by the weight of their presence and inherent authority, as well as by specific acts and judgments, they unite the community and regulate its life.

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The village is that which the family becomes if it is large enough and wealthy enough. Where these two conditions are satisfied, one might find a great tent belonging to the head of the household, flanked by the tents of the wives, and separate tents for all sons who are of age, whether married or only betrothed; the tents of married sons might in turn be flanked by tents of their offspring; and on the outer perimeter of the encampment lie the tents of poorer and more distant agnatic kinsmen, servants' tents, storage tents, baking and cooking tents, etc. Such an ideal is not often realized; a village is usually comprised of a number of related extended families, each with a modest household of a few tents arranged around the tent of the patriarch, and several such clusters combining to form the larger village pattern. In the eastern steppe, i.e., among the Buryats and Khalkhas, the village is circular in form, as are the component household

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clusters; in the western steppe, i.e., among the Kalmuks and Kazakh-Kirgiz, the village is deployed in the form of a broad arc open to the south, or in a straight line.

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The family is patriarchal: authority rests in the father, the senior male in the eldest generation of the household; marriage is patrilocal, wives come into the family of the husband. Polygyny occurs, in fact it is desired, but it is rare, to be undertaken only by those who can afford it, or who undertake it in the hope of assuring male issue and the continuation of the line. The steppe family is an extended family; that is, the family into which a son is born, and the family which he raises are one and the same, and there is usually an unbroken continuum of at least three generations: one generation past fertility, one child-bearing generation, and its offspring. Sometimes, if personality and wealth factors permit, this community may even include cousins who are sons of brothers, together with their children, making four generations and/or their progeny united in one family enclosure; but this, too, is rare. Nevertheless it is a valued situation, a desideratum, just as polygyny is.

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The wife in such a family structure has a double relationship, for her family of procreation is not that into which she was born, and she retains special ties to her natal family throughout her life. These ties are revealed by the special term which she uses in referring to

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her natal kin; this term is not the one used by her husband, and is one of the few instances of sex-specific kin terms; they are revealed in the relationship between her offspring and her brother, one of the very few aspects of cognatic relationship in an otherwise agnatic structure. The wife may seek the support of her own consanguines if she is ill-treated or divorced. The rule of patrilocal residence produces an oscillation in the adherence of the wife which need not exhibit itself ordinarily, but which comes forward when normal relationships threaten to break down.

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The extended family mirrors the corporate structure of the lineage: in theory it never dies, because it survives the life-span of any individual member; it has a clearly defined locus of authority, and in this respect is a purer type of corporate structure than is the steppe lineage; it has automatic rules of membership through birth, and rules of admission to membership through adoption such that the adopted son has the same social status as a natal son.

The extended family, like the patrilineage, is founded upon the principle of unilineal descent and agnatic relationship, i.e., it is composed of direct male descendants of a given man, close collateral kin, their wives and offspring. The conjugal families of which it is formed, on the other hand, are bilateral in structure,[29] for they are the reproductive units of society. This formulation is by no means an attempt to explain the facts of life by finding learned words for the obvious; a social fact is more than merely a biological fact. The conjugal family is not a unit of social structure in the steppe society; that is, no verbal formulation or conceptualization corresponds to what we understand by the conjugal family. The unit which herds, pastures, camps, moves, is the extended family; it may be identical with the conjugal family through losses. Again, kinship terms conform to this scheme: the father in old age bears the term for father's father; the mother in old age bears the term for father's mother: the conjugal family is conceived as an indissoluble part of the extended family. The distinction between biological fact and social interpretation is fundamental in such ideas as the distinction between actual and socially recognized paternity. In many societies, the husband of the mother is by law the father of the child, a doctrine embodied in the Code Napoleon, for example. It is in this sense that we must understand Fortes when he asserts that filiation is universally bilateral even in societies where descent is unilineal.[30] The extended family recognizes only a moiety (as Morgan would put it) of the relationships in the conjugal family.

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[29] Lowie, Primitive Society, 111.

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[30] Fortes, Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups, 33-34.

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Bilaterality is a symmetrical conception, unilineality an asymmetrical one; and the symmetry inherent in the filiation pattern lies at the core of the cousin question. The basic cousin terminology, that from which all systems of cousin terms may be typologically, if not chronologically, derived on the Asiatic steppe is the reciprocal parallel cousin terminology; there is a common term for children of brothers, and a common term for children of sisters. The fundamental theme upon which all the variations are composed is the reciprocal term between maternal parallel cousins, and the reciprocal term between paternal parallel cousins. From these two reciprocal relationship terms may be derived the Buryat distinction between maternal and paternal cousin, simply by extending the term for paternal parallel cousin to include paternal cross cousin, and by performing a similar operation in the maternal cousin terms. Again, by holding the parallel cousin terminology constant, and so arranging the cross cousin terms that each is distinct from the other and from the parallel cousin terms as well, we derive the cousin systems of the Kalmuks and the Kazakh-Kirgis. The basic system, that found in Ordos and in Classical Mongol, is chronologically older than any of its typological derivatives; and we thus achieve an insight into the culture history of Inner and Central Asia. Bilateral filiation is a basic conception relative to the avunculate as well, and to all those relationships to the maternal kin sketched in above.

M. 182 596 T.P. 182 596 maternal kin sketched in above. Another contrast between the conjugal family and the extended family is that the former is essentially unstable, it may be broken up by divorce or migration, whereas the extended family is a permanent body, having, as we have seen, the properties of a corporate social structure.

M. 182 596 769 T.P. 182 596 769 The extended family of the Asiatic steppe is a dia-
chronically oriented family. Such a family does not live
for the present; it has received its birth, its being,
its titles, honors, wealth, in short, its social position
and status and property rights, from the past, from the
ancestors, and holds them in trust for the future genera-
tions who will in turn honor the present locum tenens as
an ancestor. The ancestors are honored and worshipped,
not as genitors, those who have given birth to one, but
as forebears, those who have kept the line of descent
alive and maintained it across the generations, across
M. 182 596 T.P. 182 596 time, diachronically. Thus the family corporeal and in-
corporeal property is not at all to be regarded as private
property, nor even as the common, collective property of
the congeners of the family. The entire patrimony is a
trust to be held for the future, just as the family and
lineage ancestors maintained the being of the line and
its patrimony in trust for those yet to come. The prac-
tice of the levirate; the practice whereby children of
an un-remarried widow belong to the family of the deceased
husband regardless of who the actual sire is; the practice
of adoption, of polygyny, all serve to maintain the line.

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of adoption, of polygyny, all serve to maintain the line. Let us leave the question of design, of telos, aside. With this type of diachronic orientation[1] is correlated--again the question of cause and effect aside--many intricacies of the kinship terminology. For instance, the son's son is called by the same term as the brother's son: the collateral line is downgraded a generation in this equation. Implied is a reservoir of kin upon whom one may draw to help perpetuate one's line.

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For brother's son adoption is the most common kind of adoption, and a ready-to-hand relationship exists for continuation of the line should there be no son, or should the son die without male issue.

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To the diachronically oriented family is contrasted the synchronically oriented family, found in the patronymic-sib societies. In families of the synchronically oriented type--and in the sibs in which they are found--ancestors are venerated and a few outstanding ones worshipped individually, but for the most part they are not singled out; they are worshipped en masse. In the matter of inheritance, there is no notion of a patrimony being held in trust for the future. While property is not dissipated necessarily, interest and concern in its retention may be imputed to an acquisitive ethos, rather than to the conception of a corporate unit as a trust. The synchronic orientation of the family of this kind fits excellently with the structure of the patronymic-sib, which is a flat

[1] [cf. cat. 116, p.32 -- Analyst]

000 unit, without temporal depth, without deep oral tradition, as contrasted with the diachronically oriented social structure of the steppe pastoralists. Different too are the rules of marriage and of inheritance; above all, the genealogical charter, the expression in patrilineal terms of the oral tradition of the society, is missing in the named-sib and the synchronically oriented family.

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By way of summary, the society of the Asiatic steppe is a system of unilineal descent groups, membership in which is established either by real or fictive attribution of consanguinity, i.e., descent from a common ancestor. Consanguineal kinship in these groups is reckoned exclusively in the male line, and it is reckoned in the form of detailed genealogies, which may be demonstrable but are typically mythical. These units are the clans, composed of lineages. The lineage may be analyzed in terms of three structural principles, that of patrilineal descent, that of differential inheritance, and the dual process of lineage fission and fusion. In consequence of the patrilineal descent pattern, consanguinity is attributed only to agnatic kin; in consequence of the principle of differential inheritance, the component lineages are collaterally ranked within the clan; kinship is fictively attributed to those who join a lineage through the fusion of a remnant lineage to another one.

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Exogamy is practiced within a specified number of

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degrees of kinship in the ascending male line, a number equal to the generation count in the minimal lineage; the marriage is patrilocal in residence. The family is patriarchal in authority and the family into which a man is born and the family he raises are one and the same, hence it is an extended family; it acts as a trust, diachronic in orientation. The totality of the kinship relations, inheritance and religious practices, function to perpetuate the line, which is simultaneously that of the lineage and of the family, supporting each other mutually, and being supported in turn by the system of corporate structural principles embodied in them.

Patrilineal Descent and Agnatic Relationship

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In the following pages, a broad geographic area will be covered, and a certain amount of time-depth as well, in tracing the kinship systems of the Mongol and Turkic societies. Nevertheless, a unifying structural feature may be discerned among them all: each of these societies is internally held together by the principle of patrilineal descent; descent in the paternal line is the social cement, and with one or two minor exceptions, there is no phase of the culture, no social relationship which is not founded on it. The economic system, the religious rites and ceremonies, the legal practices, the military and political organizations including the empires, are all based upon the system of agnatic relationships. The

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corporate structures of these societies are exclusively patrilineal; and this patrilineal composition, the set of agnatic relationships, has cast the entire kinship system into a distinctive pattern. The thesis of the following pages will be that the kinship systems of the various societies of the Asiatic steppes, the Buryats, the Ordos, the Kalmuks, the Monguor, and the Kazakh-Kirgiz, are a series of variations on that pattern, which is an abstraction, nowhere actualized in detail. To trace the working of the patrilineal principle throughout the entire culture, in religion, the economic system, the politico-military organisation, is far too broad an undertaking for the present study. However, evidence from these various spheres will be drawn upon to support and deepen the analysis of the kinship system. And thus some insight may be gained into the manner whereby the agnatic relationship constitutes the social nexus, and thereby imposes its characteristic features on every aspect of culture and society on the steppes. The patrilineal, agnatic kinship system of these peoples gives that society its form, and as form, imposes itself on the cultural content, influencing thought, ideology, values, Weltanschauung.

Ka. 586 793 [787] again; but the second marriage was accompanied by no ceremony.[143] The clergy thus came to play an important role at the beginning of the marriage, for it was they who had to set the auspicious day by astrological calculations; they blessed the marriage during the wedding itself, and presided over its disruption.[144]

Kalmuk Society in the 20th Century

Ka. 178 614 From recent reports a clear indication of profound structural changes which Kalmuk society has undergone is manifest. Evidence that the Kalmuks have transformed their society from the former patri-clan system to another may be derived from the studies of Borisov[145] and Aberle.[146]
Ka. 614 178 182 M. 614 182 121 T.P. 614 ● 182 The conception of the clan which most adequately conforms to the practical needs involved in the study of Turko-Mongol society is that advanced by Kirchhoff,[147] who starts with the basic definition of the clan as a unilineal descent group, i.e., tracing descent either in the male or the female line, but not both; and clan membership may be attributed to a person on the basis of bio-

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[143] Nebol'sin, op. cit., 113, VI, 105.

[144] de Hell, 259; Bergmann, II, 146; Nebol'sin, op. cit., 113, VI, 94, 105; Nefed'ev, 193.

[145] Borisov, 23.

[146] Aberle, ms.

[147] Kirchhoff, The Principles of Clanship, ms.

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logically demonstrable birth, or through the application of a socially recognised fiction. Kirchhoff further distinguishes between "equalitarian" clans and clans in which there are differently valued lines of descent; it is to the second type of clan that the Turko-Mongols belong. The mechanism for the establishment of these differentiations to the satisfaction of the various clan members has been described at length in the foregoing:[1] the arrangement of ranked collateral lineages based upon the birth order of the founders, in turn based on the principle of primogeniture; the mode of differential inheritance of the various corporeal and incorporeal aspects of the patrimony; these are the basic features of the mechanism for differentiation. Upon this mechanism is superimposed a structural device external to the clan, namely, the differentiation into noble and commoner estates which, however, realise in their turn the principle of differential descent and inheritance, this time rendered fixed and impermeable.

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Nevertheless, throughout the structure of Turko-Mongol society generally, and Kalmuk society specifically, the practice of tracing descent through genealogical reckoning back to a common ancestor, is the basis of affirming all kinship and social relations, the consanguineal as well as the affinal. By reckoning genealogy and degree of kinship relationship, eligibility to marry is determined, obligation for economic, legal,

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, pp. 228-287--Analyst]

Ka. 614 178 182 611
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military support, pasture rights, camping rights, and so forth. The genealogical principle, and the oral tradition upon which it is founded, is the basis for all social relations in the Turko-Mongol clan.

The concept of the clan as a group based upon the exact reckoning of descent in the form of genealogies (leaving aside the question of "truth" or accuracy of the genealogy) is contrasted with that of the named sib. The distinction upon which this contrast is based derives from a formulation proposed by Lowie: the sib, as he analyzes it, is a unilateral kinship group, i.e., tracing descent from either parent, but not both. The specific principle he brings to bear is the inheritance of a name, e.g., Smith, from either the father in a patri-sib, or the mother in a matri-sib, and this is all that is necessary for admission to membership in the given sib system.[148] Both the genealogical clan and the named sib are exogamic units, either in their totality, or in some operative sub-division of theirs which is based on the same respective principle, e.g., an exogamic lineage in the case of the clan as here defined.

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The Kalmuk social structure as presented in independently corroborative reports for the 20th century departed from the clan principle and conformed to that of the sib.

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[148] Lowie, Primitive Society, 111-112. Cf. also Lowie, Family and Sib, 28-40.

THE TURKS OF CENTRAL ASIA:

IN HISTORY AND AT THE PRESENT DAY[1]

AN ETHNOLOGICAL INQUIRY INTO THE PAN-TURANIAN PROBLEM

The Pan-Turanian Movement.

●186 THE Pan-Turkic or Pan-Turanian movement, supported by the most aggressive portion of Turkish and German public opinion, is a diplomatic activity, the object of which is to subjugate to the Osmanly Turks directly, and to the Germans indirectly, all those countries in which various Turkic languages are spoken. Although its purpose is probably strategical and economic—the acquisition of the cotton of Turkestan, the gold of the Altai, and Central Asian riches in general[2]—this is hidden beneath the cloak of fostering the supposititious desire of various peoples between Thrace and Mongolia 121 for racial and national unity. Only a close study of the peoples whose tongues belong to the Turkic linguistic family can throw light on the moral side of this activity, and show whether the Pan-Turanian programme involves merely a desire for aggrandizement or whether it covers any other relationship, more

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[1] The present work is an enlargement of a lecture delivered in the School of Oriental Studies in London on October 24, 1917.

[2] See Appendix A.

[p. 9]

121 essential than the linguistic one, uniting Central Asia with Constantinople.[1]

A brief review of the Pan-Turanian programme will be necessary before approaching the main object of this essay, i.e. the study of the Eastern or Central Asiatic
103 Turks. The term Central Asia, in accordance with Humboldt's definition, embraces the area lying between the Himalayas and the Altai Mountains, the Caspian
000 Sea and Khingan Range. As far as the Western or Osmanly Turks are concerned, they are dealt with in several recent publications, namely, Sir William Ramsay's *The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor* (Oxford University Press, 1916), Professor H. A. Gibbon's *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1916), Lord Eversley's *The Turkish Empire: its Growth and Decay* (Fisher Unwin, 1917), and *Le Problème Turc*, by Count Léon Ostroróg.[2] Though not dealing primarily with the racial question, these books give a vivid picture of the variety of races living under Osmanly (Ottoman) government, and of the artificiality
• 186 of the ties that unite them. Sir William Ramsay further tells us how the Osmanly government has tried to develop feelings of unity and patriotism among its subjects on the ground of the common participation in
186 the Islamic religion. But Pan-Islamism—Islam not
177 being exclusively the property of the Turks—would in
565 itself hardly serve to strengthen the position of the Turkic elements of the empire against Arabian and ot[illegible] Mahometans.

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[1] Since these pages were written the British advance in Asiatic Turkey, together with the situation produced by the Russian Revolution, has led the German-Osmanly diplomatists to revise some details of their programme. See Appendix B.

[2] An English version of this work, entitled *The Turkish Enigma*, in Winifred Stephens's translation, has just been announced by Messrs. Chatto & Windus.

other alien Mahometans. To give prominence to the 186
Turkic element was not so simple, considering that five 177
centuries of residence in Europe have influenced the 565
ruling classes of the Osmanly in such a way that they have completely lost contact with the Turkic masses subject to their rule; while these, again, by mixture and contact with the races of Asia Minor and south-eastern Europe, have lost the Asiatic character that they once possessed. Yet the upper classes of the Osmanly did not become thoroughly Europeanized, as the Hungarians did under similar conditions, and hence their chances of assimilating the lands and peoples that they conquered in Europe were almost non-existent even before
the Balkan War. After that war, there was nothing 186
left to the Osmanly but to turn to Asia, upon which they look as a land of expansion and of compensation for what they have lost in Europe. Hence, a justification for this change of policy was necessary, and this was easily found in the so-called principle of the self-determination of nationalities. The Osmanly thereupon proclaimed themselves to be of one nationality with the people of the far Asiatic lands of Turkestan, Jungaria, and the Siberian steppes.

It may be argued that there is something in the 000
political atmosphere of our century which makes people revert, as it were, to past ages. All who have affinities with both Europe and Asia seem to be ready now to claim their Asiatic blood, as we see that the Bulgarians, the Hungarians, and the Siberian Russians are doing.

But in the case of the Osmanly the sincerity of such 517
a movement becomes doubtful, when we consider that 186
the Osmanly *intelligentsia* have so far never felt themselves 565
at one even with their own Osmanly common people. Thus they have never passed, as have the

517 educated classes of the European countries, through
● 186 a stage of 'folklorization' and 'nationalization' due to
565 contact with the masses, who through their backwardness preserve more of their national traditions. Even the Revolution of the 'Young Turks' did not bring about the breakdown of the caste distinction, and it was, in fact, like all other events in the political history of the Osmanly, a mere imitation of the Western nations, rather than a spontaneous outbreak of national feeling
186 against imperialistic government. There is no doubt
517 that such a truly national movement did begin when some years before the Balkan War a literary attempt led by Ziya Bey, Ahmed Shinassy Bey, and Namyk Kemal Bey, was made to purify the Osmanly language from its Arabian and Persian admixture. It is noteworthy that two of those leaders, Ziya Bey (later Pasha) and Kemal Bey, when exiled from Turkey by Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz for their political ideas, found refuge in London. But, before their brilliant writings brought about any literary revival or social revolution, the movement was checked by the subsequent political action of the 'Young Turks', or strictly speaking by the Committee of Union and Progress (Ittikhad), after they successfully abolished the influence of the more sound rival group, the Committee of Unity and Freedom (Ittilaf). The Pan-Islamic propaganda—bound up as it is with the Arabic language and culture—when carried on by that party in non-Turkic Islamic countries, ran contrary to the attempts of the literary reformers to free themselves from foreign
[648] culture. Meanwhile, the political and economic dependence on Germany imposed by the ruling classes on the Osmanly country did not favour the further development of linguistic and other internal reforms.

And so it happened that before Turkey had succeeded 000
in emancipating herself from her obligations to Europe, Persia, and Arabia, she fell a victim to ambitions[1] the extent of which nothing but the outcome of the war and the fate of the peace settlement will decide.

When, after the Young Turks' Revolution, various 815
European institutions arose in the Ottoman State, there 186
was set up the Academy of Turkish Science ('Turk Bilji Dernayi'), which utilizes the researches of English, French, German, Russian, and other European scientists to further the political plans of the Osmanly. Thus all attempts at finding what the culture of the Turks was like in their original home and in pre-Mahometan times, and what survivals of that culture and of the old race exist, are being interpreted by the Young Turks in such a way as to support the hypothesis of the racial identity of the Osmanly with the Eastern Turks. It seems 186
almost cruel that the process of nationalization started 101
among the educated classes of the Osmanly should be checked by a new 'revival', which, through its very artificiality, is disturbing the natural development of the Osmanly. Just as the first movement led to the substitution of the name 'Turk' for that of 'Osmanly', so now, with the rise of political dreams concentrated on Central Asia, the name 'Turk' is being abandoned in its turn for a name with a more Asiatic sound, viz. 'Turanian'. By using this word, the Osmanly intend to emphasize their claim to descent in the direct line

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[1] Tekin Alp, *The Turkish and Pan-Turkish Ideal*, English translation, London, 1916; M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei*, Leipzig, 1910; J. Germanus, *Turk Darnay*, K. S., 1909, X, Budapest; V. A. Gordlewski, 'Note on the "Turk Darnay" in Constantinople' (Russ.), *Eastern Antiquities*, Trans. E. Sect. I. R. Arch. S., IV, 1913; A. Tyrkova *Old Turkey and the Young Turks* (Russ.), Petrograd, 1916; H. M. A. Sarron, *La Jeune-Turquie et la revolution*, Paris, 1912.

186 101 from the people who left behind the old archaeological remains in Turan (Central Asia).

773 In many instances this propaganda assumes naïve form. Half-legendary kings and leaders of the Turks in Asia have been set up by the propagandists before the Turkish soldiers as hero-ancestors—to say nothing of such historical personages as Attila and Timur! Then again, a legend found by European investigators among many Asiatic Turks, to the effect that they originated from a she-wolf, has now provided an occasion for the abandonment on Turkish standards of the Mahometan crescent in favour of the pre-Mahometan Turkish wolf. The legend, of which there are several versions current among the Turks and Mongols of Central Asia, relates that a white she-wolf—or perhaps a woman with the name Zena (sometimes Bura), which means 'she-wolf'—found and reared an abandoned man-child, who became the ancestor of the Turks (or in the Mongol version—of the Mongols). This explains the appearance of that animal on the war standards of the early Central Asiatic Turks, particularly the Tu-kiu branch, a design imitated by the [177] Osmanly during the present war. Though the Osmanly took up this legend as having been originally Asiatic, the latest researches seem to support the theory of de Guignes that it had a European origin, and was imported into Asia by the Huns. Assuming that the Huns were of Turkic stock, de Guignes thinks that when they were defeated in Europe and retired by way of the Volga, the Urals, and the Altai into Turan, they brought with them the Roman legend of Romulus and Remus, and gave it a Turkic setting by associating it with local Turkic traditions, so that

subsequently it was accepted as if it had been of local 773
origin.[1]

Such is the story of one of the 'historic heritages' claimed by the Osmanly. But, as a matter of fact, the more current version of the origin of the Turks is that which derives their tribes from Ogus-Khan, son of Kara-Khan, grandson of Dik-Bakui, great-grandson of Abuldji-Khan, who was a direct descendant of Noah. Such at least is the version given in one of the first attempts at recording the Turkic myths relating to their origin.[2]

If from the realm of mythology we turn to the physical 144
or racial side, we are in perplexity as to why the 177
drafters of the Pan-Turanian propaganda entirely dis- 197
regard the fact that the Osmanly have now more Albanian, Slavonic, Thracian, and Circassian blood in their veins than they have Turkic; that their culture is more Persian, Arabian, and European than Central Asiatic; and that even in language there are divergences no less wide than are to be found among the languages of the Germanic family. All differences are disregarded, and linguistic similarity is magnified into linguistic identity.

Had the Turks and their allies, the Central Powers, 186
been successful in their military plans, their intentions as regards Central Asia were as follows: '*Thirty to forty millions of Turks will become independent, and together with the ten millions of Ottoman Turks, will form a nation of fifty millions, which may perhaps be compared with that of Germany in that it will have the strength and*

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[1] J. de Guignes, *Histoire générale des Huns*, vol. I, pt. ii, Book I, pp. 371-3.

[2] Recorded by Rashid al-Dīn, quoted by Radloff, *Concerning the Uigur*, p. 1.

● 186 *energy to rise even higher.'*[1] It should be noted that the total number of the Turks is here exaggerated by some twenty million, and that the term 'nation' is used somewhat vaguely.

It is pretty certain that the several Turkic nations which the author has had the opportunity of meeting in Asia would be surprised if any one proposed to unite them in one local group on the ground of some remote tradition. Thus they would not understand any reason for a voluntary union, even with the Turks of European Russia, not to speak of still less known people. One cannot disregard the local national awakening of some of these groups, as for instance that of the progressive 'Young Sarts', or retrogressive Usbegs of Bokhara, or even the Kaizak solidarity which may develop into national feeling, but there is now no moral link which would unite these groups in opposition to a Democratic Russia. Apart from conquest, the only thing that would effectively bring them together would be identity of religion, language, and education, and some economic organization under which they would retain their lands, and be encouraged to a more progressive mode of life—not too rapidly introduced. Identity of religion does not exist at present, for within the Mahometan world—to say nothing of others—there are as many distinctions as among the Christians; nor do they know any common language except the Russian.

648 Since the Chinese and Russian Revolutions the confiscation of lands belonging to these Turkic natives is less likely to occur on the part of Russia[2]* and China.

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[1] Tekin Alp, *op. cit.*, Foreword, p. 5

000 [2] On June 25, 1916 (old style), there appeared a Ukaz from the

*[For footnote, see category 116, p. 17--- Analyst]

669 It would seem that

186 the prolongation of the Russian chaos would encourage the congregation of the Turkic elements, if the disassociation from the other people of the once Russian Empire was their aim. But so far neither the 'All-Russian Mahometan Congress' nor 'Mahometan Regional Councils' separate themselves from the general problems of Russia, even though they express interest in the Mahometans abroad, and the majority favour some kind of federal form of government. The Turkic population of Russia is not more uniform in political opinion than the Slavonic or Finnic branches; and so, the reactionary portion of them guided by Mullahs, and on the whole less affected by the Russian and more by the Central Asian culture, form an opposition to the Mahometan federalists.

The term Turanian.

103 The term 'Turan', from which Turanian is derived, is so Asiatic that we do not find it in the Greek authors, though the fact that it occurs in the *Avesta* in the form Tura points to its ancient origin.

779 It is said in the *Avesta* that Thraetona had three sons, Airya (Arya), who received as his portion Iran; Sairima, who received the western lands; and Tura, to whom fell the oriental lands. Again, Tuirya (Turya) is used in the *Avesta* as an epithet applied to the countries now called Turanian.[1] The people of Tuirya are spoken of as enemies of the people of Airya. Another

538 reference is found in the epic of the Persian poet Firdusi, the Shâh Naméh dating from the tenth century

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[1] E. Blochet, 'Le Nom de Turc dans l'Avesta', *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, pp. 305-9.

113, 19

RL4 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For information pertaining to the Turkic languages, see 22: Matthews, Rl Soviet Union, category 116; pp. 63-72]

by their neighbours. It must be remembered that while the reindeer is not known to the Turks of Tian-Shan and the upper Yenisei, the latter people have several other species of deer, especially the elk (*Cervus alces*) and the maral (*Cervus elephas*). The domesticated deer is rare. 233

Forming a wedge between the Tungusic and the Palaeo-Siberian tribes, the Yakut impose their language, together with many of their customs, on both these groups, as well as on the Russian settlers. In religion they are typical Shamanists. 177 [791]

On meeting a Yakut among the various Mongoloid peoples of the north, one is at once struck with the difference in his physiognomy. His hair and eyes are darker, his nose narrower and better marked, and on the whole he gives the impression of possessing Southern, and one might almost say Semitic, characteristics. And yet he can hardly be suspected of having any Arabic strain. 142

The *Siberian Tatars* live chiefly in the Tomsk and Yeniseisk Governments. In the Tomsk Government, 70 per cent. of them do not know any language but their own; the remaining 30 per cent. speak Russian also. In the Yeniseisk Government only 12 per cent. speak the Russian language besides their own. 101 191 ●

As to their religion some of them are Mahometans, namely: 779 101

1. Tobolsk Tatars and 'Siberian Bokharians' of the Tobolsk district.
2. The Baraba Tatars of the Kainsk district.
3. The Tomsk Tatars of the Mariinsk district.
4. The Kuznietsk Tatars of the Kuznietsk and Barnaul district.

Others,[1] are still Shamanists or 'Christian-Shamanists', 101 177 791

[1] [i.e. Siberian Tartars--- Analyst]

subsequently it was accepted as if it had been of local 773
origin.[1]

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[1] J. de Guignes, *Histoire générale des Huns*, vol. I, pt. ii, Book I, pp. 371-3.

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A.D.; a prominent figure in this work, the Turkic Khan Afrâsiyâb, is said to have reigned over Tura in the sixth century B.C., and to have been the great foe of Iran.[1] In this poem Turan is placed in the north of Iran. 538

The name Turan is very often given to the region otherwise called Tartary. Neither of these names is known to the Asiatic Turks, but curiously enough Turan occurs as a clan-name among the Turkic tribe of Sagai, the tribe least mixed with Finnic and Samoyedic people of all the so-called 'Tatars' of Siberia. The Turkic state of Siberia, conquered by the Khan Kuchum in the sixteenth century, is often called also the Turan state, but this name is derived from the name of the River Turu, on the banks of which the town Chingi-Tura (now Tiumien) was erected by the Beg Chingi in the fourteenth century.[2] 103

Like the term Aryan, 'Turanian' is used chiefly as a linguistic term, equivalent to 'Ural-Altaic' linguistic group.[3] The use of this linguistic term for the designation of a racial group is no more satisfactory than the use of the linguistic term 'Aryan' in the same sense. But still more unscientific is it to apply this adjective to things Turkish, for the Tungusic and the Mongolic languages have just as much right to be called Turanian as the Turkic. However, 'Turanian', not unlike 101

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[1] Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, p. 115.

[2] P. M. Golovacheff, *Siberia*, Moscow, 1914, p. 35.

[3] Although the term Turanian is now generally applied to the Ural-Altaic languages (Turkic, Tungusic, Mongolic, Samoyedic, and Finnic), it will be remembered that some linguists, for instance Max Müller, give to the Ural-Altaic group the name of North Turanian as against the South Turanian group (Tamulic, Gangetic, Lohitic, Taic, and Malayic) (Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, London, 1861, p. 322). 197

Siberia scarcely reaches half a million, and yet this is the region which has been a centre of gravity for the old Turkic culture. So if for political interest we must look to the Iranian Turks, for ethnological problems we turn chiefly to these other Turks, who are the truest Turanians. 162

Language.

Preparatory to dealing with the separate nations of which these two groups are composed, it will be necessary to pass in review the linguistic and religious position of all the Eastern Turks in Asia, for it seems that in many cases these two factors are the only guides by which we can arrive at the definition of a Turk. 000

According to Professor Beresin and the Turkic-Tatar scholar Mirza Kasem Beg,[1] the Turkic or Turko-Tatar languages may be divided as follows: 197

1. Jagatai (Chagatai),
2. Tatar,
3. Turkish.

The Jagatai and Tatar languages, with their many dialects, have closer resemblances between themselves than either of them have with the Turkish. The Turkish language is used by the Western Turks, and consists of the following dialects:

(*a*) Derbent,
(*b*) Aberdjan (Azerbeijan),
(*c*) Crimean,
(*d*) Anatolian, } [Osmanly.]
(*e*) Rumelian (Constantinople). }

Of the other two, Jagatai appears to be the older, and

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[1] Mirza A. Kasem Beg, transl. Dr. J. T. Zenker, *Allgemeine Grammatik der Türkisch-Tatarischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1848, pp. xi-xiii.

197 it includes the most classical Turkic dialect, namely Uigur. The dialects of Jagatai are:

(*a*) Uigur,
(*b*) Koman,
(*c*) Jagatai (Chagatai),
(*d*) Usbeg,
(*e*) Turkoman,[1]
(*f*) Kazan.

The dialects of Tatar are:

(*a*) Kirghis,
(*b*) Bashkir,
(*c*) Nogai,
(*d*) Kuman,
(*e*) Karachai,
(*f*) Kara-Kalpak,
(*g*) Meshcherak,
(*h*) Siberian.

212 The first mention in Chinese documents of the fact that the Uigur, the Tu-kiu, and the Kirghis use the same character, occurs in a passage relating to the fourth century A.D. The earliest specimens known to us of the Turkic-Uigur language and characters are the inscriptions on the burial mounds in the Yenisei valley, dating from about the seventh century A.D. The late Professor Donner,[2] who has left us a study of the origin of this alphabet, suggests that some early phases of old Turkic writing are still missing, and may possibly be found west or south of the Minusinsk inscriptions, for the inscriptions found to the east of Minusinsk along the River Orkhon in Northern Mongolia are later than those of the Yenisei. The reason for such a supposition rests on the fact that the script adopted by the old Uigur Turks was of Aramaean or Proto-Pehlevi origin, of the type employed during the dynasty of Arsasides in Parthia (third century B.C. to third century A.D.). It is not clear, pending further

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[1] According to some scholars Turkoman belongs to the Western Turkic linguistic branch, and thus stands near to Azerbeijan and Osmanly. See A. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 86.

[2] O. Donner, 'Sur l'origine de l'alphabet turc du Nord de l'Asie', *J. Soc. Fin.-Ougr.*, 1896, XIV, pp. 1-7, 21-71.

212 the Russian and Sibiriak ethnographers of Central Asia.[1] They would derive the old Turkic character from the clan-crests, called *tamgas*. There is no doubt that some letters of the Yenisei and Orkhon inscriptions bear a close resemblance to various *tamgas*, but the influence may equally well be regarded as reciprocal, until it is proved that the Turkic *tamgas* are more ancient than the Aramaean character.

But, on the other hand, it is quite obvious that the *pisanitsy*, or pictographic writings found in various parts of Turan, are to be connected with the *tamgas*, and that they represent the direct influence of environment rather than that of an imported culture.

538 Until the discovery of the Yenisei inscriptions the oldest Turkic-Uigur document was the famous *Kudatku Bilik*, translated as 'The Art of Reigning' (L. Cahun[2]) or as 'The Book of Joy-giving Knowledge' (A. Vambéry[3]). It is an ancient poem, imbued with the spirit of Islam, written in 1069 (or perhaps in 1076), that is to say during the dynasty of the Ilekids, and ascribed to Yūsuf Khass Hajib. It was found in Semirechie. [212] The Turkic-Uigur writing was in use sporadically among the Volga and Bokhara Turks until the fifteenth century.

● [197] As monuments in Jagatai proper, a dialect akin to Uigur, may be cited the Memoirs of Baber the Moghul in the sixteenth century, and the History of Abul Ghazi in the seventeenth. The Memoirs of Baber have been

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[1] N. A. Aristoff, *Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition of the Kirghis-Kaizak*, &c., pp. 410 ff.; N. Mallitski, *On the connexion between the Turkic 'tamga' and the Orkhon characters*, 1897-8, pp. 43-7.

[2] L. Cahun, *L'Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, p. 45.

[3] A. Vambéry, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

101 Syr Daria Territory, in the Kokand district of the
162 Ferghana Territory, and some 20,000 in the Khanate
of Khiva.

221 Half of them are settled agriculturists, the rest are
231 still nomad cattle-breeders, their pasture lands being,
however, more strictly fixed than among the Kaizak.
● [197] Some of them are also engaged in trading. Of all the
Kirghis group their language ~~is~~ the most nearly related
to that of the Western Turks.[1]

101 This may be explained by the fact that they belong
174 to the stream of Turks who participated in the westward migration some ten centuries ago.

Speaking of the origin of the Kara-Kalpak or Chornyie Klobuki, as they were called in Kieff-Russia, P. Golubowski[2] says that they were a mixture of Ghuz Turks, Pyechenyeg, and others, and that they formed that remnant of the Ghuz Turks who remained in Russia when the new wave of Turkic invaders from Asia—the Polovtsy—drove the other part of their tribe across the Danube. The remnants of the Ghuz, together, possibly, with other Turks, settled on the Russian borderlands, accepted Christianity, and were known as the Kara-Klobuk (Kara-Kalpak), while some of them moved back to Asia, and, according to V. Moshkoff, about 70,000 of them live until now in Bessarabia under the name of Ghaghauzy (Gagauzy).[3] Whether the Kara-Kalpak not living in Asia are the same as the Kara-

by the Russians in 1856, and was practically annexed 167 by them in 1886. The whole country became almost independent of China after Mongolia declared its independence in 1914, and the old Russian Government, intending to occupy this rich pasture land, had begun to colonize it energetically. This aroused some opposition among the natives, who, having scarcely felt their dependence on China, were not prepared to give up their best lands to the Russian Colonization Committee. Many Uriankhai have for the last three years been moving in clan order, with all their herds, into the steppes of Northern Mongolia. This is, in fact, the most recent *en masse* migration in Central Asia. It has ceased, however, since the Russian Revolution, owing to the influence exercised by Siberian scholars and public men, such as G. Potanin and A. Adrianoff, in the protection of the rights of the natives.[1]

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[1] A. Maksimoff, 'The Kara-Kalpak', vol. XXIII, p. 454, of the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, ed. Jeleznoff.

[2] *The Pyechenyegi, the Torki and the Polovtsy until the Tatar Invasion*, Kieff, 1884, p. 151.

[3] V. Moshkoff, *Examples of the Folk-Literature of the Turkic Tribes*, St. Petersburg, 1904, p. xxii.

The Uriankhai are sometimes called *Soyot* (sing. 101 *Soyan*, from the clan-name *Saya*). But it is not certain whether this name ought to be applied to all of them. The name by which they call themselves in the North is *Tuba*.

According to the East Turkic scholar Katanoff, the 197 language of the Uriankhai is Turko-Tatar,[2] but of 144 course they are now mixed to a great extent with the Mongols. It must be remembered that Castrén and some of his followers are inclined to see in the Uriankhai members of the original Samoyed-Yeniseian race, who mixed with the Turks and adopted a Turkic language.[3]

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[1] See articles in *Sibirskaya Jisn*, Feb. 26, 1916, May 3, 1917.

[2] E. K. Yakovleff, *Ethnographical Survey of the Native Population of the Valley of Southern Yenisei*, Minusinsk, 1900, p. 18.

[3] M. A. Castrén, *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*, vol. IV, pp. 83-6; D. Carruthers, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 20, 52-5, 200; vol. V, pp. 116-17.

197 That at one time a Samoyed group might have migrated
174 to the Soyot (Uriankhai) is not out of the question, since many clan-names of the Samoyed and the Uriankhai are alike. But no other signs of this relationship can be found now, and the southernmost Turks, who may have been originally Samoyed, are the Kamashints, some of whom, at the time of Castrén's travels (1840–50), were speaking a Samoyedic dialect. When Radloff visited them, however (about 1865), all signs of Samoyedic speech had disappeared, and only a Turkic dialect was in use.

233 Radloff thinks that the Uriankhai are the forefathers
174 of the present Yakut,[1] which, however, sounds improbable, if only because the Uriankhai are almost the most successful reindeer-breeders known, whilst the Yakut learnt that art only after their migration to the north.

619 The number of the Uriankhai is some 100,000. Until recently they formed one *aimak* or province of China. They are subdivided into nine local groups (*khoshun* or *kopun*), which again are divided into *sumo* or tribes. The *sumo* is further subdivided into *sök*, clans, or
[618] perhaps moieties. The clan-names are mostly of Turkic origin, many of them being found also among other Turanian Turks, e.g. Irgit, Soyan, Kirghis, Kaizak, Koeluk, Uigur, &c.

233 The Uriankhai living in the steppe country are mostly cattle-breeders; some of them, however, depend chiefly on hunting and fishing. It is only in this region that we find the breeding of horse, yak, and reindeer for

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[1] Radloff, 'Die Jakutische Sprache', *Bull. I.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 54-6. For opposite opinion see I. P. Silinich, 'On the question of the physical type of the population of North-west Siberia', *Russ. Anthr. J.*, Nos. 3-4, 1916, pp. 51-3.

Hazara AU5
Turkic Peoples RL4

A While they are more primi-
464 tive and intellectually inferior to the ruling Afghans, they are physi-
701 cally very sturdy and brave, and their honest and simple natures,
free from all fanaticism, give them an attractive personality. Those
H who have taken service in the Indian army and in railroad con-
413 struction are almost as highly spoken of as the Gurkhas of Nepal,
142 whom they also resemble physically. Outside of their own mountain
181 unfastnesses in the Hazarajat, where they are today relatively undisturbed,
they supply most of the unskilled labor for road building
etc., and their position differs but little from that of serfs. In the
Afghan army they have been organized into several battalions of
sappers and miners.

H Aside from their distinctly Mongolian type the Hazaras—at least
144 the western clans—may be readily recognized by their small conical
291 headdress of bright-colored calico, lined with fur or sheepskin which
forms a fringe around the edge.

F. CHAHAR AYMAKS (250,000).

A
162 These are four semipastoral tribes of northwestern Afghanistan
T closely related to the Hazaras, but belonging to the Sunni persuasion.
101 Like the Hazaras they are of pure Tartar or Mongolian origin
144 and possess all the physical and mental attributes of their kinsmen
795 further to the south. But being less numerous and less fiercely independent
than the Hazaras they never had to suffer so much at the
● 197 hands of the central government, especially as they appear to have
become Sunnis (with some exceptions) at an early period. They
speak either Turki or Persian dialects, and even a mixture of both.

A (a) The *Taimanis* (160,000) are the most numerous of these four
162 tribes. They occupy the Ghorat, i. e., the mountains between the
T Hari Rud and the Ghor, where the medieval Kingdom of Ghor
162 (10th–13th centuries A. D.) must have been located. They are not
exclusively nomads, but also cultivators of the soil. Intermarriage
211 has slightly modified the original Mongolian type. Their dress is
117 more like that of the Tajiks than the Hazaras, and they wear the
101 turban. Their language is largely Turki.

(b) *Firozkohis* (50,000) roam the entire watershed of the Murghab River, north of the Band-i-Baba Range. They are said to have come from the Firoz-koh mountain (near Samnan, in North Persia) although they look more Mongolian than the other Aymaks. They speak Persian and wear a turban like the Uzbegs.

(c) *Jamshedis* (20,000) are found in the district of Badghis, between the Hari Rud and the Russian frontier. They have a reputation for intelligence, honesty, and good horsemanship. Although they dress like the Uzbegs and speak Turki they differ from them by wearing the sheepskin hat.

Turkic Peoples RL4
Uzbeg RN5
Nuri AU6

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(d) *Taimuris* (15,000) are an unimportant tribe, a large section of whom migrated to Persian Khorassan, where there are now fully as many as in Afghanistan. They speak Persian and many of them are Shiahs.

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G. UZBEGS (750,000).

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[A 701]

The Uzbegs are the principal inhabitants of the provinces of Afghan Turkestan and Badakshan. They are called *Turkmen* by the other Afghans and are a pure Tartar race, like the Turkomans of the rest of Central Asia. Their language is Turki and they differ from their kinsmen in Transoxiana only in that they wear a small turban instead of the sheepskin hat of the Turkomans proper. They wear long, many-colored striped coats and high knee-boots of untanned leather. Most of the Afghan cavalry is recruited from them.

H. KIZILBASHIS (100,000).

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Though numerically not one of the great tribes of Afghanistan the Kizilbashis (lit. "Red-Heads") are an influential element. The term was formerly applied as a nickname by the orthodox Sunnis to all Persians in Anatolia and Central Asia, presumably because of red caps they wore. In Afghanistan the name has become almost synonymous with *Shiah*. The Kizilbashis were originally natives of North Persia and only came to Afghanistan with the armies of Nadir Shah in 1737. Some 25,000 of them are still found in the city of Kabul alone, where they occupy the Chandawal quarter, the most prosperous looking part of the town. The rest of the tribe are found in some of the villages of the province of Kabul and of the Ghazni district. Although they have Tartar features they have ceased to be a pure race by intermarrying freely with other tribes. They are known for their intelligence and education, and—not unlike the Greeks and Armenians before their expulsion from Asia Minor—they supply most of the men with professional training or skill. Positions of secretaries, clerks, and interpreters, or of foremen and overseers, are usually held by them, and they even occasionally rise to high office in the government service. Curiously enough they also make excellent soldiers and—with the Uzbegs—furnish much of the Amir's best cavalry. Their position is all the more remarkable because they are handicapped by being Shiahs and therefore disliked by the ruling classes.

I. KAFIRS (70,000).

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This interesting tribe is in a class by itself, having practically no ties of either race or religion with the other inhabitants of the country. They are wild, semibarbarous mountaineers inhabiting a

197 it includes the most classical Turkic dialect, namely Uigur. The dialects of Jagatai are:

(*a*) Uigur,
(*b*) Koman,
(*c*) Jagatai (Chagatai),
(*d*) Usbeg,
(*e*) Turkoman,[1]
(*f*) Kazan.

The dialects of Tatar are:

(*a*) Kirghis,
(*b*) Bashkir,
(*c*) Nogai,
(*d*) Kuman,
(*e*) Karachai,
(*f*) Kara-Kalpak,
(*g*) Meshcherak,
(*h*) Siberian.

212 The first mention in Chinese documents of the fact that the Uigur, the Tu-kiu, and the Kirghis use the same character, occurs in a passage relating to the fourth century A.D. The earliest specimens known to us of the Turkic-Uigur language and characters are the inscriptions on the burial mounds in the Yenisei valley, dating from about the seventh century A.D. The late Professor Donner,[2] who has left us a study of the origin of this alphabet, suggests that some early phases of old Turkic writing are still missing, and may possibly be found west or south of the Minusinsk inscriptions, for the inscriptions found to the east of Minusinsk along the River Orkhon in Northern Mongolia are later than those of the Yenisei. The reason for such a supposition rests on the fact that the script adopted by the old Uigur Turks was of Aramaean or Proto-Pehlevi origin, of the type employed during the dynasty of Arsasides in Parthia (third century B.C. to third century A.D.). It is not clear, pending further

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[1] According to some scholars Turkoman belongs to the Western Turkic linguistic branch, and thus stands near to Azerbeijan and Osmanly. See A. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 86.

[2] O. Donner, 'Sur l'origine de l'alphabet turc du Nord de l'Asie', *J. Soc. Fin.-Ougr.*, 1896, XIV, pp. 1-7, 21-71.

discoveries, who used the Aramaean characters during the three or four centuries which divide the time of Arsasides (whose power was destroyed by Ardashir, founder of the Sassanian Empire in 220 A.D.) from that of the Yenisei inscriptions. The assumption is that in some remote parts of the Sassanian Empire the Aramaean characters still continued to exist for some time, and that the earliest Turkic writings are still undiscovered. In any case, Professor Donner was disposed to take the Aramaean rather than the Indo-Bactrian or Kharosthi as the prototype of the Yenisei writing.[1] The [177] popular opinion current until recently, however, was that the Uigur obtained their written character from the Nestorian monks, who exercised considerable influence in Turanian lands from the fifth century A.D. onwards, and who themselves used a Syriac language. Though the influence of the Nestorian missionaries was doubtless very profound, and though their language was probably known to some of the Turks, especially to the Uigur and the Kirei, the Yenisei inscriptions seem to have been modelled on a Semitic writing more primitive than the Syriac of the fifth century A.D., or even than the character in use during the latter part of the Arsasides dynasty, i.e. the third century A.D.[2]

Here must be mentioned a suggestion coming from

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[1] Professor E. W. K. Müller, of Berlin, advances a theory that the Uigur character, especially in its most archaic form, is an adaptation of the Soghdian ('Uigurica', *Abh. Akad.*, Berlin, 1908-10). M. Gauthiot, accepting this, says that the distinctive character of the Uigur inscriptions is due to the adaptation to the old Turkic language of the phonetic system of a quite different type of language, viz. North Iranian and Soghdian (R. Gauthiot, 'De l'Alphabet Sogdien', *J. A.*, Jan.-Feb., 1911, p. 90).

[2] O. Donner, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

212 the Russian and Sibiriak ethnographers of Central Asia.[1] They would derive the old Turkic character from the clan-crests, called *tamgas*. There is no doubt that some letters of the Yenisei and Orkhon inscriptions bear a close resemblance to various *tamgas*, but the influence may equally well be regarded as reciprocal, until it is proved that the Turkic *tamgas* are more ancient than the Aramaean character.

But, on the other hand, it is quite obvious that the *pisanitsy*, or pictographic writings found in various parts of Turan, are to be connected with the *tamgas*, and that they represent the direct influence of environment rather than that of an imported culture.

538 Until the discovery of the Yenisei inscriptions the oldest Turkic-Uigur document was the famous *Kudatku Bilik*, translated as 'The Art of Reigning' (L. Cahun[2]) or as 'The Book of Joy-giving Knowledge' (A. Vambéry[3]). It is an ancient poem, imbued with the spirit of Islam, written in 1069 (or perhaps in 1076), that is to say during the dynasty of the Ilekids, and ascribed to Yūsuf Khass Hajib. It was found in Semirechie. [212] The Turkic-Uigur writing was in use sporadically among the Volga and Bokhara Turks until the fifteenth century.

[197] As monuments in Jagatai proper, a dialect akin to Uigur, may be cited the Memoirs of Baber the Moghul in the sixteenth century, and the History of Abul Ghazi in the seventeenth. The Memoirs of Baber have been

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[1] N. A. Aristoff, *Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition of the Kirghis-Kaisak*, &c., pp. 410 ff.; N. Mallitski, *On the connexion between the Turkic 'tamga' and the Orkhon characters*, 1897-8, pp. 43-7.

[2] L. Cahun, *L'Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, p. 45.

[3] A. Vambéry, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

frequently translated into many European languages.[1] 538
The poet who perhaps most enriched the Jagatai literature was Mir Ali Shir Navaī, who lived during the Timurid dynasty.

It is interesting to note that among the latest documents in the older form of the Uigur written character 212 175 are some letters sent by the Mongol Khans of Persia in the thirteenth century to the Pope of Rome, Philip le Bel King of France, and Edward I King of England, the object of which was to arrange an offensive alliance against the Saracens. There were as many as six Embassies exchanged. A number of the letters were written in Uigur with Latin translations, and the original Uigur manuscripts of some of these were found by M. Abel Rémusat in Paris.[2] It is possible that the

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[1] The translations in English are as follows:

'Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed Baber, Emperor of Hindustan, written by himself, in the Jaghatai Turkic, and translated partly by the late John Leyden, partly by William Erskine', London, 1826.

'The Memoirs of Bābur; a new translation of the Bābur-nāma, incorporating Leyden and Erskine's of 1826 A.D.', by Annette S. Beveridge, London, 1912.

'Memoirs of Baber, Emperor of India, First of the Great Moghuls, being an abridgement with an introduction, supplementary notes, and some account of his successors', by Lieut.-Col. F. G. Talbot, London, 1909.

[2] Abel Rémusat, 'Mémoires sur les relations politiques des princes chrétiens et particulièrement des rois de France avec les empereurs mongols', *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, Pt. I, vol. vi, pp. 396–469; Pt. II, vol. vii, pp. 335–431. See also T. Hudson Turner, 'Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I and of his Relations with the Moghul Sovereign of Persia', *Arch. Jour.*, VIII, London, 1851, pp. 47–50; I. J. Schmidt, *Philologisch-kritische Zugabe zu den von H. Abel Rémusat bekannt gemachten in den königlich-französischen Archiven befindlichen zwei mongolischen Original-Briefen der Könige von Persien Argun und Oeldshaitu an Philipp den Schönen*, St. Petersburg, 1824.

● 2/2 originals of those sent to England may yet be found
175 in some British collection. Some of the envoys were
Uigur priests of Nestorian religion.[1]

Religion.

779 Among the Iranian Turks in Turkestan the almost
universal religion is Mahometanism. Its adherents
form 99 per cent. of the Turks in Ferghana (Kokand),
[795] 93 per cent. in Samarkand, 96 per cent. in Syr Daria,
and 88 per cent. in Transcaspia (1897). They are
mostly Sunnites, and of the Hanifite rite. It is recognized in the Mahometan world that nowhere else is there such strict adherence to the Koran and the Sunna as in this region, nowhere else are there so many religious orders and so many saints. This contemporary religious fanaticism, however, does not play the cultural rôle which it did when Mahometanism was introduced into this region in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as a rival to the earlier influences of Buddhism, Christianity, and the well-developed local animistic religion. At that time, under the influence of Iranian culture, Mahometanism meant also the development of science and art, literature and architecture. The present theologians of Turkestan have banished from their religion everything which is not in accordance with strict devotion and

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[1] The Uigur manuscripts known to exist in European libraries are:

Kudatku Bilik (copy made in Herat in 1439) (Wiener Hofbibliothek).

Légende de Oghus Chan (Library of Charles Schefer of Paris).

Teskere-i-ewlija (Bibliothèque Nationale).

Miradj nameh (Berliner Bibliothek).

Yarlyk of Temir Kutlug (Wiener Hofbibliothek).

Yarlyk of Toktamysh (Moscow Library).

Application of the envoy of Chami, Babeke, to the Chinese Emperor, with Chinese translation (Asiatic Museum, Petrograd).

172 of this region seems to be a continuation of the Bronze Age in another material. It is only in the late Iron period that new forms appear,[1] and hence it is probable that while the early Iron was evolved by the people responsible for the Bronze culture, the late Iron culture may have been brought by some new-comers, possibly, though not necessarily, of another race.

The honour of having first deciphered the Old Turkic inscriptions belongs to the Danish scholar Professor Vilhelm Thomsen, of Copenhagen,[2] working in 1893, and the investigation was continued by Professor Wilhelm Radloff of Petrograd[3] from 1894 onwards.

172
212 The Yenisei inscriptions are chiefly funeral tributes to deceased Khans or *Khagans* of the 'Kyrgys' (Kirghis); those of the River Orkhon in North-West Mongolia, which, judging from the more finished form of the writing, are of later date, contain historical and ethnographical information, and are ascribed to the Tu-kiu. Thus our knowledge of the Turanian Turks, which has been obtained by analysing the often confusing annals

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[1] W. W. Radloff, 'Siberian Antiquities', *Materials for the Archaeology of Russia*, St. Petersburg, 1888, 1891, 1894, 1902; *Aus Sibirien*, vol. II, chap. vii; F. R. Martin, *L'Âge du bronze au musée de Minoussinsk*, Stockholm, 1893; D. A. Klements, *Antiquities of the Minusinsk Museum. The Remains of the Metal Ages*, Tomsk, 1886; I. P. Kuznietsoff-Krasnoyarski, *The Minusinsk Antiquities, Copper, Bronze, and Transitional Periods*, Tomsk, 1908; J. R. Aspelin, *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien*, Helsingfors, 1877.

[2] *Inscriptions de l'Iénissei recueillies et publiées par la Société Finlandaise d'Archéologie*, 1889; *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon recueillies par l'expédition finnoise 1890 et publiées par la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, 1892; V. Thomsen, 'Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées', *Mém. Soc. Fin.-Ougr.*, V; N. Yadrintseff, *Ancient Monuments and Inscriptions in Siberia*, Literary Collection, 1885.

[3] W. W. Radloff, P. Melioranski, &c., *Collection of Documents of the Orkhon Expedition*, 1897.

of Chinese historians, has been amplified, and difficult 172
points to some extent cleared up, by the interpretation 212
of these inscriptions.

The older type of inscriptions is engraved; the later type is written on the stone, in some cases even in colours, but the art of using colours was apparently introduced by the Mongols and the Chinese. The Orkhon inscriptions are bilingual, the second language being Chinese.

The richest collections of objects of both Bronze and 172
Iron cultures are to be found in the Minusinsk Museum, [217]
and in the Petrograd and Moscow Museums. Next to these come the Museums of Tomsk and Krasnoyarsk. The beginning of the excavation of the kurgans dates from about 1881; among the last thorough investigations are those of A. M. Tallgren (1915) in the Minusinsk region, and of A. V. Adrianoff in the Uriankhai country.

Several attempts have been made to classify the various types of kurgans. Radloff[1] distinguishes as many as ten types; these, however, are not sufficiently clearly differentiated to admit of their being referred to ten distinct cultures. A broader division, based on the more apparent external differences between them, is into two groups. The graves of the first group have their surface level with the surface of the ground, and are surrounded by quadrangular stone slabs. They are usually associated with the Bronze culture, and the implements they contain are such as would be characteristic of a more or less settled population. The graves of the second group are covered with a raised mound, and are often surrounded by high slabs of stone resembling monoliths, which sometimes reach a height

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[1] W. W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, vol. II, pp. 68-143.

103 The Russians who first colonized this country,[a] from the north took up the name Yenisei from the Tungus, whom they met first; they came in contact with the Southern Turks only after they had subjugated the Tungus. But even now, in the upper Yenisei region, the Yenisei is known as the Ulu-Kem, which again is formed by the junction of two streams with Turkic names, Bii-Kem (Bei-Kem) and Kha-Kem (Hua-Kem). These names recall the terms for the two chief rivers of the Altai, Biya (Bi) and Katun (Khatun), which were probably also named by the Turks.

172 2/2 The dense forests of this region made communication between various tribes more difficult than it would have been in the open steppe. Hence arose the necessity of making on the bark of trees, or the flat surface of the rock, signs conveying various kinds of information. These signs, called by the Russians *myety*, gave rise to the pictographic writings called *pisanitsy*. Some of them seem to have been a means of conveying tribal information and a chronicle of events, others to have been connected with the religious cult, and these latter are very much like some of the pictures on the modern shaman's drum.[1] Still others may be nothing more than tribal *tamgas*. Great numbers of such engraved or painted pictographs are met with in the forest region of the northern Altai and upper Yenisei, while they are never found in the open steppes, where communication can be carried on much more easily by means of messengers on horseback or by smoke signals, and where chronicles are handed down by word of mouth.

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[1] N. M. Yadrintseff, *The Ancient Monuments and Inscriptions in Siberia*, pp. 456, 476.

[a] [i.e. the region of the Yenisei --- Analyst]

Curiously enough, it is recorded in the old Russian 172
Cossack reports of the seventeenth and eighteenth 2/2 •
centuries, made accessible of late years, that the Kirghis, who were then fighting with the Mongolians of Jungaria, tried to communicate with the Cossacks, and to show them tracks through the forest, by means of such pictographic signs.[1]

In comparing the life of the old inhabitants of this 172
region with that of the modern population it is natural 342
to begin by considering the form of their dwellings. Unfortunately there are no indications as to the type of habitation of the people of the Bronze or the Iron Ages. The region furnishes, however, such a collection of various types of dwelling, that it is not fanciful to assume a long evolutionary development. First there is the very primitive tent, *suyulta*, or *alenchek* if covered with birch bark. Then there are quadrangular wooden dwellings called *aida*, still without windows. Next come wooden structures covered with earth, and provided with a window. These are called *kuzenek*, and in them a clay stove, *chuval*, has already replaced the smoke-hole of the more primitive types. There is an elaborated form, called *spa*, in which the whole structure is raised higher from the ground, and given a hexagonal shape, with a sloping roof. Within, it has a kind of small vestibule. The tent also has its line of development, for the use of such of the population as devote their attention to cattle-breeding, and hence are seasonal

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[1] *Memoirs of Siberian History, Seventeenth Century*, vol. I, No. 58. N. N. Kosmin, in one of his recent journeys in the Amyl Taiga of the Minusinsk country, records that his Tatar guide, on striking camp left behind a notched stick, the notches on which indicated: 'Five of us slept here one night and went away in two boats' (N. N. Kosmin, *Chern*, p. 99).

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among the Seykym clan of the Kaizak, whose *uran* 618
is also 'Seykym'.

Though the Kaizak belong geographically to the 221•
Iranized Turks, culturally they have on the whole 231
much affinity with the Mongols. The majority are still nomadic cattle and horse breeders. Their method of cattle-keeping is a most luxurious one. They leave the cattle on the pastures the whole year round, hence their only care is to find a fresh pasture every season. The spring and autumn pastures may be the same. It is only recently, since more of the land has been claimed by the Russian Immigration Committee, that the Kaizak have begun to lay up winter stores for their cattle. Each clan has defined limits to its pasture lands. Under the old Russian system the pasture land used by the Kaizak belonged to the State, and they were granted the use of it, dividing it at their communal gatherings according to the number of people, cattle, and vehicles
in each class. The permanent houses, gardens, arable [428]
land, and irrigation canals are hereditary.[1]

It is curious to note that the Kaizak, whose dwellings 764
are so light and portable, bury their dead in solid structures of wood, clay, and brick. This custom also exists among the Kara-Kirghis, and was known to the old Yenisei-Kirghis. As it is not found among the non-Turkic population of Central Asia, it seems to indicate that those who practise it now are perhaps the nearest relatives of the people who built the old burial mounds of the Yenisei, called *kurgans*.

The Kara-Kalpak ('Black Caps'), another Turkic 101
tribe of the same group (134,313 in 1911 as against 162
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[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, p. 159.

101 Syr Daria Territory, in the Kokand district of the
162 Ferghana Territory, and some 20,000 in the Khanate of Khiva.

221
231 Half of them are settled agriculturists, the rest are still nomad cattle-breeders, their pasture lands being, however, more strictly fixed than among the Kaizak.
[197] Some of them are also engaged in trading. Of all the Kirghis group their language is the most nearly related to that of the Western Turks.[1]

101
174 This may be explained by the fact that they belong to the stream of Turks who participated in the westward migration some ten centuries ago.

Speaking of the origin of the Kara-Kalpak or Chornyie Klobuki, as they were called in Kieff-Russia, P. Golubowski[2] says that they were a mixture of Ghuz Turks, Pyechenyeg, and others, and that they formed that remnant of the Ghuz Turks who remained in Russia when the new wave of Turkic invaders from Asia—the Polovtsy—drove the other part of their tribe across the Danube. The remnants of the Ghuz, together, possibly, with other Turks, settled on the Russian borderlands, accepted Christianity, and were known as the Kara-Klobuk (Kara-Kalpak), while some of them moved back to Asia, and, according to V. Moshkoff, about 70,000 of them live until now in Bessarabia under the name of Ghaghauzy (Gagauzy).[3] Whether the Kara-Kalpak not living in Asia are the same as the Kara-

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[1] A. Maksimoff, 'The Kara-Kalpak', vol. XXIII, p. 454, of the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, ed. Jeleznoff.

[2] *The Pyechenyegi, the Torki and the Polovtsy until the Tatar Invasion*, Kieff, 1884, p. 151.

[3] V. Moshkoff, *Examples of the Folk-Literature of the Turkic Tribes*, St. Petersburg, 1904, p. xxii.

Iish Kysi (*Iish*, 'black forest', 'chern'; *Kysi*, 'men'). 101
In language and religion they keep free from foreign admixture, they are therefore typical Turanian Turks. Their mode of life is sedentary whenever the environment allows them to practise agriculture. In religion they are Shamanists.

THE TURKS OF NORTH-WESTERN MONGOLIA AND EASTERN TURKESTAN. While the Altaians or Chern 'Tatars' occupy the Northern Altai, there lives in the Southern, so-called Little Altai, along the Black Irtish, in Jungaria and in Eastern Turkestan, another Turkic tribe, a rival of the Altaians as representative of the pure Turanian type. This is the tribe called *Kirei*, *Kerrit*, *Kerrait*, or *Kirai*. The chief distinction between the Kirei and the Altaians is now a religious one, the Kirei being Mahometans. We know that from the [795] eleventh to the thirteenth centuries they were adherents of Christianity in the form of Nestorianism, and it is among them that the fabulous Christian king Prester John (probably the native king Ouang-Khan, a contemporary of Jinghis Khan) is said to have lived. In [821] mode of life they are at present nomads, and are well known as hunters.[1]

The Kirei are sometimes called *Kirei-Kirghis*, and it is possible that in the period from the beginning of [174] our era till the sixth century, when the Kirghis were spreading in the basin of the upper Yenisei, one clan, the Kirei, were left behind, and settled in the Kemchik valley. Again, when in the seventeenth century the Yenisei-Kirghis were retiring before the Russian advance, from the Minusinsk steppes southwards to Jungaria and Mongolia, some of them may have settled among the Seykym clan of the Kaizak, whose *uran* 618 is also 'Seykym'.

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[1] D. Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia*, vol. II, pp. 351-5.

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113, 177, 233 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For data on herding ratios as indices of acculturation, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, pp. 161-163.]

113, 621, 233, 182 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For material on the nomadic kin-village among the Altaic-speaking peoples of the Asiatic steppe, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 568-574.]

/01/ to their geographical distribution: the 'Baraba Tatars', the 'Altaians', the 'Abakan Tatars', and so on.

The *Yakut*, who are now the northernmost branch of Turkic-speaking people, live along the River Lena right up to the Arctic shore, and in the region between the Lena [162] and the Yenisei as far south as Lake Baikal. They are superior in numbers to all the 'Siberian Tatars' taken together. In 1911 they numbered 245,000, as against 225,000 in 1897, while the 'Tatars' numbered 208,000 in 1911, plus some 4,000 people classed by the Russian officials as 'Turks of undefined nationality', as against 175,000 in 1897, plus some 3,000 'Turks of undefined nationality'.[1]

● 233 [178] Under the influence of their new environment[2] the Yakut have been driven to take up reindeer-breeding and a nomadic tundra life, but in their social and religious institutions survivals of the more settled conditions of their southern home are still to be seen.[3]

Of all the Turks of Asia the Yakut are the most typical representatives of what may be spoken of as 'reindeer-culture'.[4] The reindeer is to this region what the horse is to the Central Asian steppe-nomads. It supplies food, clothes, bone-implements, and is used for draught work. But while the people who have been living for a long time at the stage of reindeer-culture, such as the Koryak of the north-east or the Samoyed of the north-west, never use reindeer for riding, the Yakut ride their reindeer as their ancestors rode the horse, a practice which is looked upon with disfavour

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[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, pp. 79–80.

[2] See p. 41.

[3] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 1914, pp. 107, 277, 297.

[4] B. Laufer, 'The Reindeer and its Domestication', *Mem. of the Amer. Anthrop. Assoc.*, vol. IV, No. 2, 1917.

by their neighbours. It must be remembered that 233
while the reindeer is not known to the Turks of Tian-Shan and the upper Yenisei, the latter people have several other species of deer, especially the elk (*Cervus alces*) and the maral (*Cervus elephas*). The domesticated deer is rare.

Forming a wedge between the Tungusic and the 177
Palaeo-Siberian tribes, the Yakut impose their language, together with many of their customs, on both these
groups, as well as on the Russian settlers. In religion [791]
they are typical Shamanists.

On meeting a Yakut among the various Mongoloid 142
peoples of the north, one is at once struck with the difference in his physiognomy. His hair and eyes are darker, his nose narrower and better marked, and on the whole he gives the impression of possessing Southern, and one might almost say Semitic, characteristics. And yet he can hardly be suspected of having any Arabic strain.

The *Siberian Tatars* live chiefly in the Tomsk and 101
Yeniseisk Governments. In the Tomsk Government, 191
70 per cent. of them do not know any language but their own; the remaining 30 per cent. speak Russian also. In the Yeniseisk Government only 12 per cent. speak the Russian language besides their own.

As to their religion some of them are Mahometans, 779
namely: 101

1. Tobolsk Tatars and 'Siberian Bokharians' of the Tobolsk district.
2. The Baraba Tatars of the Kainsk district.
3. The Tomsk Tatars of the Mariinsk district.
4. The Kuznietsk Tatars of the Kuznietsk and Barnaul district.

Others[1] are still Shamanists or 'Christian-Shamanists', 101 177 791

[1] [i.e. Siberian Tartars--- Analyst]

197 174 That at one time a Samoyed group might have migrated to the Soyot (Uriankhai) is not out of the question, since many clan-names of the Samoyed and the Uriankhai are alike. But no other signs of this relationship can be found now, and the southernmost Turks, who may have been originally Samoyed, are the Kamashints, some of whom, at the time of Castrén's travels (1840–50), were speaking a Samoyedic dialect. When Radloff visited them, however (about 1865), all signs of Samoyedic speech had disappeared, and only a Turkic dialect was in use.

● 233 174 Radloff thinks that the Uriankhai are the forefathers of the present Yakut,[1] which, however, sounds improbable, if only because the Uriankhai are almost the most successful reindeer-breeders known, whilst the Yakut learnt that art only after their migration to the north.

619 The number of the Uriankhai is some 100,000. Until recently they formed one *aimak* or province of China. They are subdivided into nine local groups (*khoshun* or *kopun*), which again are divided into *sumo* or tribes. The *sumo* is further subdivided into *sök*, clans, or [618] perhaps moieties. The clan-names are mostly of Turkic origin, many of them being found also among other Turanian Turks, e.g. Irgit, Soyan, Kirghis, Kaizak, Koeluk, Uigur, &c.

233 The Uriankhai living in the steppe country are mostly cattle-breeders; some of them, however, depend chiefly on hunting and fishing. It is only in this region that we find the breeding of horse, yak, and reindeer for

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[1] Radloff, 'Die Jakutische Sprache', *Bull. I.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 54-6. For opposite opinion see I. P. Silinich, 'On the question of the physical type of the population of North-west Siberia', *Russ. Anthr. J.*, Nos. 3-4, 1916, pp. 51-3.

draught purposes carried on together, and in a way it characterizes the Uriankhai, for they seem to combine the traits of the Mongol horse-nomads, the Turkic hunters and cattle-breeders, and the Tungus reindeer-breeders. 233 ●

History.

The history of the Turks in Central Asia falls roughly into the following periods: 175

I. From the first vague mention of them in the Chinese annals of the Tang and Yu dynasties (2356–2200 B.C.), and the no less vague mention in the *Avesta* (if it is right to identify 'Tura' with Turks), to the middle of the sixth century A.D., when the name Tu-kiu (Turks) appears for the first time.

II. From the rise of the Tu-kiu, through the period of rapid independent development, to the Mongolian invasion in the thirteenth century.

III. From the thirteenth century through the period of the great migrations started by the Jinghis Khan conquests, and of the still independent Turkic states under Mongolian dynasties, to the beginning of the Russian advance in the seventeenth century.

IV. From the seventeenth century, through the period of the wars with Russia and of subsequent Russian rule, to the Russian Revolution of 1917.

First Period. The probable ancestors of the Turks lived to the north of China, and were mentioned by the Chinese chroniclers as long ago as the third millennium B.C. on account of their raids on China, but of course scarcely any mention is made by the Chinese of the Turks living to the far north and far west of China.

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342 nomads. This, in its most elaborate form, is spherical, and resembles to some extent the so-called Kirghis, or properly speaking Kaizak, tent, from which, however, it differs in having a conical top instead of being built round a circular frame. There also exist hexagonal, octagonal, and polygonal varieties. These are usually covered with felt, and are called *yurta*.[1]

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262 As regards the botanical environment, more data are available for comparison. There are certain forest plants, very plentiful in the Altai and Sayan Mountains, whose roots are much esteemed as food by the modern Turks, as they seem to have been by the ancient. Among them are *sarana* (*Lilium Martagon*), *kandyk* (*Erithronium dens canis*), and *cheremsha* (*Allium ursinum*). So characteristic are these roots as articles of food among the present-day Turks that the names for the different times of the year are taken from the plants that are then in season. Thus Bes-ai is 'the month of *kandyk*' (May), and Ak-sep-ai is 'the month of *sarana*' (June).

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241 The agriculture carried on in the clearings of the forest was in the olden days similar to what it was at the time when the Russians first occupied the country. Barley seems to have been the chief product. On spots where the cattle have been pastured for some time the modern Altaians grow hemp. The vegetable ornament found in the late Bronze Age, and in abundance in the Iron Age, proves that the ancient inhabitants knew and used the same plants as are utilized by the present natives.

Among the agricultural implements found in the kurgans are some which are in use up to the present time among the Tatars. Such are the *ozyp*, a kind of hoe used for digging up roots, and the *obyl*, a kind of primitive plough, which, if it has shafts, is called *andazyn*. Instead of a harrow they now use the trunk of a small tree with stumps of the branches left projecting. Many of the present Tatars, for instance those along the River Chu, reap their corn by tearing it off in handfuls; only in some places is a knife with a curved handle used for this purpose. No threshing implement occurs either in the graves or among the present inhabitants, but possibly in the olden days, as in some places up to modern times, there existed the practice of singeing the straw in order to dry it, when the grain can be separated by stirring it with a stick. There are not found, either in the graves or among the Southern Altaians, the typical mill-stones which are used by the Chern Tatars, but flat slabs of stone are met with between which the grain is rubbed. The remains of the irrigation canals, called *aryk*, show that they were more elaborate in the Bronze and Iron periods than their modern substitutes, sometimes called *sugak*. It is not known in what way land was fertilized in the olden days, but at the time of the arrival of the Russians, and to a certain extent until now, the natives chose old camping sites on which to sow their grain.[1] 172 241

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[1] N. M. Yadrintseff, *On the Altaians and the Chern Tatars*, p. 8.

While some Turkic tribes, for instance the Kaizak, even now do not trouble to lay up winter stores for their cattle, the Altaians twist up straw into rolls, and store it in that way, which is also convenient for carrying.[2] Among the forest Tatars hay is prepared 172 246

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[1] Yadrintseff, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[2] *Ibid.*

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[2] *Ibid.*

172 ● 246 by being hung in bundles from the branches of trees.[1]

172 As for the animal world, there is a record that the Cossack Ataman Vasili Tumenets,[2] who passed through the land of Tuba on his way to Mongolia in 1616, found these people in possession of horses and reindeer, but without cattle or sheep. It is interesting to note that in all the archaeological remains both of the Iron and of the Bronze periods, a great many different species of deer are represented. Among the present Turkic tribes the deer, *syn*, is still the most popular animal. The horse and the goat are also favourite motives in the bronze zoomorphic ornament, and the mountain eagle and the swan are the most frequently represented birds. All this seems to prove that the metal-workers must have lived in the same environment as the modern inhabitants. But we find in the Bronze Age also representations of animals not known to frequent the upper Yenisei, such as the dromedary and the donkey.[3] This would point to Southern influence, or at least to contact with a Southern people during the Bronze Age.

Thus it becomes clear that the people who were responsible for the early pictographs, and possibly for the bronze implements, as well as the people responsible for the Uigur inscriptions and the iron implements, are connected with the present remnants of the local Turkic population in the way in which they reacted to their botanical and zoological environment. No such similarity can be traced between the ancient inhabitants

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[1] N. N. Kosmin, *Chern*, p. 98.

[2] A. V. Adrianoff, *Sketches of the Minusinsk Country*, 1904, p. 5.

[3] Kosmin, *ibid.*

172 342 nomads. This, in its most elaborate form, is spherical, and resembles to some extent the so-called Kirghis, or properly speaking Kaizak, tent, from which, however, it differs in having a conical top instead of being built round a circular frame. There also exist hexagonal, octagonal, and polygonal varieties. These are usually covered with felt, and are called *yurta*.[1]

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Among the agricultural implements found in the

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[1] N. M. Yadrintseff, *On the Altaians and the Chern Tatars*, p. 8.

, Altaians R52
Turkic Peoples R14

A 175 Marco Polo
273 also describes wines made of dates or of sugar and dates, sugar, rice, grain, and grapes. (36) Again distillation and spirits are not mentioned.

36. 1908, 91, 104, 280f., 476, 500.

A 175 272 [273] Carpini reports of the Tatars: "If they have horse milk, they drink it in enormous quantities, also the milk of sheep, goats, and camels. They do not have wine, beer, and mead unless these beverages happen to be imported from other nations or sent as presents. Because they do not have horse milk in winter, unless they are wealthy, they boil millet with water and make such a thin broth of it that one cannot eat it but must drink it...In summer, however, when they A [262] have enough horse milk, they seldom eat meat unless they just happen to /74/ be presented with some or kill game or a bird on the hunt." A [273] (37) Carpini explicitly says that spirits are not known; however, he

37. Johann de Plano Carpini, 1930, 101.

does not mention kumiss either.

Tu 273 175 Ibn Batuta reports: "The chief beverage of the Turks is wine made from honey." The same is reported by Chinese travelers of the 13th century A D. (38)

38. W. W. Rockhill, 1900, 62, footnote 1.

All informants mention the ordinary kumiss and other alcoholic beverages but not spirits, and they do not know the word Arrack. Therefore, the distillation process must have been unknown there; otherwise they would probably have described it.

4. Arrack and Distillation

Tu Ti [114] [174] 273 It is often maintained that the preparation of milk schnapps, distillation, came to the nomads of Inner Asia through the Tibetans. Inasmuch as the Tibetan nomads do not know kumiss, much less distilled kumiss, and do not make distilled schnapps from grain, they cannot have introduced the process. Others believe that distillation was brought to the nomads through Chinese or European influence. (39)

39. Ebert, Reallexikon, Volume XI, 40.

Hazara AU5
Turkic Peoples RL4

A while they are more primi-
464 tive and intellectually inferior to the ruling Afghans, they are physi-
701 cally very sturdy and brave, and their honest and simple natures,
free from all fanaticism, give them an attractive personality. Those
H who have taken service in the Indian army and in railroad con-
463 struction are almost as highly spoken of as the Gurkhas of Nepal,
142 whom they also resemble physically. Outside of their own mountain
181 fastnesses in the Hazarajat, where they are today relatively undisturbed, they supply most of the unskilled labor for road building etc., and their position differs but little from that of serfs. In the Afghan army they have been organized into several battalions of sappers and miners.

H Aside from their distinctly Mongolian type the Hazaras—at least
144 the western clans—may be readily recognized by their small conical
291 headdress of bright-colored calico, lined with fur or sheepskin which forms a fringe around the edge.

F. CHAHAR AYMAKS (250,000).

A
162 These are four semipastoral tribes of northwestern Afghanistan
T closely related to the Hazaras, but belonging to the Sunni persua-
101 sion. Like the Hazaras they are of pure Tartar or Mongolian origin
144 and possess all the physical and mental attributes of their kinsmen
795 further to the south. But being less numerous and less fiercely inde-
197 pendent than the Hazaras they never had to suffer so much at the hands of the central government, especially as they appear to have become Sunnis (with some exceptions) at an early period. They speak either Turki or Persian dialects, and even a mixture of both.

A (a) The *Taimanis* (160,000) are the most numerous of these four
162 tribes. They occupy the Ghorat, i. e., the mountains between the
T Hari Rud and the Ghor, where the medieval Kingdom of Ghor
162 (10th–13th centuries A. D.) must have been located. They are not exclusively nomads, but also cultivators of the soil. Intermarriage
211 has slightly modified the original Mongolian type. Their dress is
117 more like that of the Tajiks than the Hazaras, and they wear the
101 turban. Their language is largely Turki.

(b) *Firozkohis* (50,000) roam the entire watershed of the Murghab River, north of the Band-i-Baba Range. They are said to have come from the Firoz-koh mountain (near Samnan, in North Persia) although they look more Mongolian than the other Aymaks. They speak Persian and wear a turban like the Uzbegs.

(c) *Jamshedis* (20,000) are found in the district of Badghis, between the Hari Rud and the Russian frontier. They have a reputation for intelligence, honesty, and good horsemanship. Although they dress like the Uzbegs and speak Turki they differ from them by wearing the sheepskin hat.

and other sections of the modern population such as the Ostyak or the Samoyed. 172

Finally, it is curious that among the many primitive races of Northern and Central Asia only two tribes have a reputation as iron-workers, the Yakut and the Kuznietsk 'Tatars'—from *kuzniets* (Russian), 'smith'. At the time of the Russian conquest the latter were paying tribute to China with iron implements of their own manufacture. It seems impossible to dissociate these people, whose original home was in the region of the Iron Age remains, from the ancient iron-workers. Of course, it is more difficult to trace their ancestry further back, though there is no evidence to prove that the Bronze Age people were of a different race from the people of the Iron Age. 326 ●

The presence of rich mineral deposits in the country of the old Turks gave rise to an extensive mining industry, the high value of which, added to the richness of the animal and vegetable world, made the population of the *yish* self-satisfied, and disinclined to leave their lands. The Orkhon inscriptions contain many allusions to 'the benevolent earth and waters of the Turks', and unfriendly comments on the people who migrate from the forests and mountains to the open plain, take up Chinese trade, and develop the war instinct. I will allow myself to quote one of the most instructive passages of the Orkhon inscriptions. The author addresses his tribesmen: 'Whence came your lust for warfare? Ye went away, ye people of Utukan Yish, some to the west and some to the east, but all that ye found there, in the place to which ye came, amounts to this, that your blood was shed like water, and your bones heaped up in mountains; your strong sons are 172

Curiously enough, it is recorded in the old Russian 172
Cossack reports of the seventeenth and eighteenth 2/2
centuries, made accessible of late years, that the Kirghis, who were then fighting with the Mongolians of Jungaria, tried to communicate with the Cossacks, and to show them tracks through the forest, by means of such pictographic signs.[1]

In comparing the life of the old inhabitants of this 172
region with that of the modern population it is natural 342 ●
to begin by considering the form of their dwellings. Unfortunately there are no indications as to the type of habitation of the people of the Bronze or the Iron Ages. The region furnishes, however, such a collection of various types of dwelling, that it is not fanciful to assume a long evolutionary development. First there is the very primitive tent, *suyulta*, or *alenchek* if covered with birch bark. Then there are quadrangular wooden dwellings called *aida*, still without windows. Next come wooden structures covered with earth, and provided with a window. These are called *kuzenek*, and in them a clay stove, *chuval*, has already replaced the smoke-hole of the more primitive types. There is an elaborated form, called *spa*, in which the whole structure is raised higher from the ground, and given a hexagonal shape, with a sloping roof. Within, it has a kind of small vestibule. The tent also has its line of development, for the use of such of the population as devote their attention to cattle-breeding, and hence are seasonal

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[1] *Memoirs of Siberian History, Seventeenth Century*, vol. I, No. 58. N. N. Kosmin, in one of his recent journeys in the Amyl Taiga of the Minusinsk country, records that his Tatar guide, on striking camp left behind a notched stick, the notches on which indicated: 'Five of us slept here one night and went away in two boats' (N. N. Kosmin, *Chern*, p. 99).

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Among the agricultural implements found in the

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[1] N. M. Yadrintseff, *On the Altaians and the Chern Tatars*, p. 8.

On the other hand, the Russian collapse has left the 648
way open to the activity of the Pan-Turanian propagandists, who seem to have been successfully checked
by the Revolution at its *first* stage—warmly greeted as
it was in Siberia and Central Asia. The Second 669
Revolution, with its Marxian spirit foreign to Asiatic people, had in this region adherents almost entirely composed of Russian colonists. It would seem that

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On June 25, 1916, (old style), there appeared a Ukaz from the
Tsar calling all the male natives of the Caucasus, Turkestan, 636
the Caspian Steppe country, Siberia, and the Astrakhan and 425 ●
Stavropol steppes, for service connected with the war, a proceeding contrary to the fundamental law relating to the native population, under which these natives were definitely exempt from any form of military service. This order came at a time when the natives were all occupied with the cotton-fields of Turkestan, the wheat-fields of Siberia, or with reindeer-breeding in the mountains. The President of the Mussulman Party of the Duma, K. B. Tevkeleff, made a vigorous protest to the then Prime Minister, M. Stürmer, against the coercive measures
employed in calling up the natives. In spite of this, the ruthless [669]
behaviour and corrupt methods of the local administration of some parts of Turkestan brought about a rising of the population, especially of the Kara-Kirghis and the Sart. The most terrible conflicts occurred at Djizak in the Samarkand district, and in other parts of Semirechie, as a result of which the local administration confiscated all the land and property of the natives, took away forcibly all men of military age, and sent what remained of the population (about 20,000), chiefly women, to die of starvation in the bare mountain region. General Kuropatkin, then Governor-General of the country, decided that the shores of Lake Issyk-kul, the valley of the River Tekes and of the River Keben, and the eastern part of the River Chuya, were to be cleared of the Kara-Kirghis and colonized only by Russians. See the official publications, *Turkestan News*, No. 185, 1916, and *Semirechie District News*, Nos. 201-15, 1916. The question was brought before the Duma, and the Investigation Committee, guided by M. Kerensky, was sent to Semirechie and Samarkand. But it was only after the First Revolution, and by order of the Provisional Government, that the natives were allowed to return to their country.

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113, 604, 601, 428 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For discussion of the avunculate in the Altaic-speaking steppe societies, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 591-600.]

among the Seykym clan of the Kaizak, whose *uran* 618
is also 'Seykym'.

Though the Kaizak belong geographically to the 221
Iranized Turks, culturally they have on the whole 231
much affinity with the Mongols. The majority are still nomadic cattle and horse breeders. Their method of cattle-keeping is a most luxurious one. They leave the cattle on the pastures the whole year round, hence their only care is to find a fresh pasture every season. The spring and autumn pastures may be the same. It is only recently, since more of the land has been claimed by the Russian Immigration Committee, that the Kaizak have begun to lay up winter stores for their cattle. Each clan has defined limits to its pasture lands. Under the old Russian system the pasture land used by the Kaizak belonged to the State, and they were granted the use of it, dividing it at their communal gatherings according to the number of people, cattle, and vehicles
in each class. The permanent houses, gardens, arable [428]•
land, and irrigation canals are hereditary.[1]

It is curious to note that the Kaizak, whose dwellings 764
are so light and portable, bury their dead in solid structures of wood, clay, and brick. This custom also exists among the Kara-Kirghis, and was known to the old Yenisei-Kirghis. As it is not found among the non-Turkic population of Central Asia, it seems to indicate that those who practise it now are perhaps the nearest relatives of the people who built the old burial mounds of the Yenisei, called *kurgans*.

The Kara-Kalpak ('Black Caps'), another Turkic 101
tribe of the same group (134,313 in 1911 as against 162
111,799 in 1897), live in the Amu Daria district of the

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[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, p. 159.

other alien Mahometans. To give prominence to the 186
Turkic element was not so simple, considering that five 177
centuries of residence in Europe have influenced the 565
ruling classes of the Osmanly in such a way that they have completely lost contact with the Turkic masses subject to their rule; while these, again, by mixture and contact with the races of Asia Minor and south-eastern Europe, have lost the Asiatic character that they once possessed. Yet the upper classes of the Osmanly did not become thoroughly Europeanized, as the Hungarians did under similar conditions, and hence their chances of assimilating the lands and peoples that they conquered in Europe were almost non-existent even before
the Balkan War. After that war, there was nothing 186
left to the Osmanly but to turn to Asia, upon which they look as a land of expansion and of compensation for what they have lost in Europe. Hence, a justification for this change of policy was necessary, and this was easily found in the so-called principle of the self-determination of nationalities. The Osmanly thereupon proclaimed themselves to be of one nationality with the people of the far Asiatic lands of Turkestan, Jungaria, and the Siberian steppes.

It may be argued that there is something in the 000
political atmosphere of our century which makes people revert, as it were, to past ages. All who have affinities with both Europe and Asia seem to be ready now to claim their Asiatic blood, as we see that the Bulgarians, the Hungarians, and the Siberian Russians are doing.

But in the case of the Osmanly the sincerity of such 517
a movement becomes doubtful, when we consider that 186
the Osmanly *intelligentsia* have so far never felt them- 565
selves at one even with their own Osmanly common people. Thus they have never passed, as have the

● 517 educated classes of the European countries, through
186 a stage of 'folklorization' and 'nationalization' due to
565 contact with the masses, who through their backwardness preserve more of their national traditions. Even the Revolution of the 'Young Turks' did not bring about the breakdown of the caste distinction, and it was, in fact, like all other events in the political history of the Osmanly, a mere imitation of the Western nations, rather than a spontaneous outbreak of national feeling
186 against imperialistic government. There is no doubt
517 that such a truly national movement did begin when some years before the Balkan War a literary attempt led by Ziya Bey, Ahmed Shinassy Bey, and Namyk Kemal Bey, was made to purify the Osmanly language from its Arabian and Persian admixture. It is noteworthy that two of those leaders, Ziya Bey (later Pasha) and Kemal Bey, when exiled from Turkey by Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz for their political ideas, found refuge in London. But, before their brilliant writings brought about any literary revival or social revolution, the movement was checked by the subsequent political action of the 'Young Turks', or strictly speaking by the Committee of Union and Progress (Ittikhad), after they successfully abolished the influence of the more sound rival group, the Committee of Unity and Freedom (Ittilaf). The Pan-Islamic propaganda—bound up as it is with the Arabic language and culture—when carried on by that party in non-Turkic Islamic countries, ran contrary to the attempts of the literary reformers to free themselves from foreign
[648] culture. Meanwhile, the political and economic dependence on Germany imposed by the ruling classes on the Osmanly country did not favour the further development of linguistic and other internal reforms.

character from the clan *tamgas* would of course claim 618
greater antiquity than that of Orkhon and Yenisei 172
inscriptions.

According to tradition, the *tamga* was introduced 618
among the Kaizak by their Khan Tiavka, because the 531
Kaizak of his time were so rich in cattle that some device of this kind was necessary for the identification of the various herds. Some think that the origin of the *tamga* is to be sought in Mongolia, but as a matter of fact it occurs among the Turks no less frequently than among the Mongols and Tungus, because the custom of marking cattle is natural and common to most pastoral people. As may be expected, the pastoral Turks, such as the Kaizak and some of the Kirghis, have the *tamga* system much more highly developed than have the sedentary part of the Kirghis, the Altaians, and the forest and mountain Turks generally. Being either hunters or agriculturists, they have less need of the *tamga* for practical purposes. The study of the *tamgas* gives in many cases a clue to the composition of the tribe; for example, among the Kaizak there are to be found *tamgas* of various Turkic tribes of Asia, either in their original form or as composite signs, thus proving conclusively the mixed origin of that people.[1]

It is difficult to ascertain how far the *tamga* corresponds to a totem. Some *tamgas* seem to represent merely geometric designs: the Naĭman clans had as their favourite *tamga* an angle, the Kirei use a square. Some of the Kaizak of the Middle Orda have *tamgas* representing a 'bird's rib' (*urdas bii*), a comb (*tarak*), and a forked stick (*selak*). Sometimes, however, the

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[1] Aristoff, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

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tamga plays more obviously the rôle of a totem. Among the Turks of the Minusinsk country there exist survivals of public clan sacrifices to the spirit-owner of the clan, for instance the horse, which appears also to be the clan *tamga*.

At the present time the *tamga* is usually cut or branded on the left side of the animal, i.e. the side from which the rider mounts, but the exact place where the mark is made differs among the various tribes.

The fact that the same *tamgas* are used on graves belonging to the same clan is of assistance in tracing the migration of clans, but it is only by considering the *tamga* on the one hand, and the *uran* or war-cry on the other, that the origin of a group can be traced. The *uran* was originally the common property of a political group, a larger unit than the group of blood-relations who owned the *tamga*. It often consists of the name of a well-known chief or hero, but since the Turkic tribes have ceased to lead a warrior's life the new generation scarcely remember the battle-cry of the clan, and hence the *uran* is more difficult of discovery than the *tamga*. Grodekoff,[1] perhaps the most successful of all the investigators along these lines, found that the chief *uran* of the Great Orda, namely, of the clans Jalair and Dulat, was 'Bahtyar', the name of one of the Kaizak heroes; the Kangli have a *uran* 'Bayterek', which is 618 probably a corrupt form of the same name. This community of the *uran* confirms what is now known about the relationship between the Kangli and the Jalair. Sometimes the name of the clan is used as a *uran*, as

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[1] *The Kirghis and Kara-Kirghis of the Syr Daria Territory*, 1829, pp. 2-3.

669 It would seem that
186 the prolongation of the Russian chaos would encourage the congregation of the Turkic elements, if the dis-association from the other people of the once Russian Empire was their aim. But so far neither the 'All-Russian Mahometan Congress' nor 'Mahometan Regional Councils' separate themselves from the general problems of Russia, even though they express interest in the Mahometans abroad, and the majority favour some kind of federal form of government. The Turkic population of Russia is not more uniform in political opinion than the Slavonic or Finnic branches; and so, the reactionary portion of them guided by Mullahs, and on the whole less affected by the Russian and more by the Central Asian culture, form an opposition to the Mahometan federalists.

The term Turanian.

103 The term 'Turan', from which Turanian is derived, is so Asiatic that we do not find it in the Greek authors, though the fact that it occurs in the *Avesta* in the form Tura points to its ancient origin.

779 It is said in the *Avesta* that Thraetona had three sons, Airya (Arya), who received as his portion Iran; Sairima, who received the western lands; and Tura, to whom fell the oriental lands. Again, Tuirya (Turya) is used in the *Avesta* as an epithet applied to the countries now called Turanian.[1] The people of Tuirya are spoken of as enemies of the people of Airya. Another ● 538 reference is found in the epic of the Persian poet Firdusi, the Shâh Naméh dating from the tenth century

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[1] E. Blochet, 'Le Nom de Turc dans l'Avesta', *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, pp. 305–9.

A. D.; a prominent figure in this work, the Turkic Khan Afrâsiyâb, is said to have reigned over Tura in the sixth century B.C., and to have been the great foe of Iran.[1] In this poem Turan is placed in the north of Iran. 538

The name Turan is very often given to the region otherwise called Tartary. Neither of these names is known to the Asiatic Turks, but curiously enough Turan occurs as a clan-name among the Turkic tribe of Sagai, the tribe least mixed with Finnic and Samoyedic people of all the so-called 'Tatars' of Siberia. The Turkic state of Siberia, conquered by the Khan Kuchum in the sixteenth century, is often called also the Turan state, but this name is derived from the name of the River Turu, on the banks of which the town Chingi-Tura (now Tiumien) was erected by the Beg Chingi in the fourteenth century.[2] 103

Like the term Aryan, 'Turanian' is used chiefly as a linguistic term, equivalent to 'Ural-Altaic' linguistic group.[3] The use of this linguistic term for the designation of a racial group is no more satisfactory than the use of the linguistic term 'Aryan' in the same sense. But still more unscientific is it to apply this adjective to things Turkish, for the Tungusic and the Mongolic languages have just as much right to be called Turanian as the Turkic. However, 'Turanian', not unlike 101

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[1] Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, p. 115.

[2] P. M. Golovacheff, *Siberia*, Moscow, 1914, p. 35.

[3] Although the term Turanian is now generally applied to the Ural-Altaic languages (Turkic, Tungusic, Mongolic, Samoyedic, and Finnic), it will be remembered that some linguists, for instance Max Müller, give to the Ural-Altaic group the name of North Turanian as against the South Turanian group (Tamulic, Gangetic, Lohitic, Taic, and Malayic) (Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, London, 1861, p. 322). 177

212 the Russian and Sibiriak ethnographers of Central Asia.[1] They would derive the old Turkic character from the clan-crests, called *tamgas*. There is no doubt that some letters of the Yenisei and Orkhon inscriptions bear a close resemblance to various *tamgas*, but the influence may equally well be regarded as reciprocal, until it is proved that the Turkic *tamgas* are more ancient than the Aramaean character.

But, on the other hand, it is quite obvious that the *pisanitsy*, or pictographic writings found in various parts of Turan, are to be connected with the *tamgas*, and that they represent the direct influence of environment rather than that of an imported culture.

● 538 Until the discovery of the Yenisei inscriptions the oldest Turkic-Uigur document was the famous *Kudatku Bilik*, translated as 'The Art of Reigning' (L. Cahun[2]) or as 'The Book of Joy-giving Knowledge' (A. Vambéry[3]). It is an ancient poem, imbued with the spirit of Islam, written in 1069 (or perhaps in 1076), that is to say during the dynasty of the Ilekids, and ascribed to Yūsuf Khass Hajib. It was found in Semirechie.
[212] The Turkic-Uigur writing was in use sporadically among the Volga and Bokhara Turks until the fifteenth century.

[197] As monuments in Jagatai proper, a dialect akin to Uigur, may be cited the Memoirs of Baber the Moghul in the sixteenth century, and the History of Abul Ghazi in the seventeenth. The Memoirs of Baber have been

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[1] N. A. Aristoff, *Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition of the Kirghis-Kaisak*, &c., pp. 410 ff.; N. Mallitski, *On the connexion between the Turkic 'tamga' and the Orkhon characters*, 1897-8, pp. 43-7.

[2] L. Cahun, *L'Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, p. 45.

[3] A. Vambéry, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

frequently translated into many European languages.[1] 538 The poet who perhaps most enriched the Jagatai literature was Mir Ali Shir Navaï, who lived during the Timurid dynasty.

It is interesting to note that among the latest documents in the older form of the Uigur written character 212 175 are some letters sent by the Mongol Khans of Persia in the thirteenth century to the Pope of Rome, Philip le Bel King of France, and Edward I King of England, the object of which was to arrange an offensive alliance against the Saracens. There were as many as six Embassies exchanged. A number of the letters were written in Uigur with Latin translations, and the original Uigur manuscripts of some of these were found by M. Abel Rémusat in Paris.[2] It is possible that the

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[1] The translations in English are as follows:

'Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed Baber, Emperor of Hindustan, written by himself, in the Jaghatai Turkic, and translated partly by the late John Leyden, partly by William Erskine', London, 1826.

'The Memoirs of Bābur; a new translation of the Bābur-nāma, incorporating Leyden and Erskine's of 1826 A.D.', by Annette S. Beveridge, London, 1912.

'Memoirs of Baber, Emperor of India, First of the Great Moghuls, being an abridgement with an introduction, supplementary notes, and some account of his successors', by Lieut.-Col. F. G. Talbot, London, 1909.

[2] Abel Rémusat, 'Mémoires sur les relations politiques des princes chrétiens et particulièrement des rois de France avec les empereurs mongols', *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, Pt. I, vol. vi, pp. 396–469; Pt. II, vol. vii, pp. 335–431. See also T. Hudson Turner, 'Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I and of his Relations with the Moghul Sovereign of Persia', *Arch. Jour.*, VIII, London, 1851, pp. 47–50; I. J. Schmidt, *Philologisch-kritische Zugabe zu den von H. Abel Rémusat bekannt gemachten in den königlich-französischen Archiven befindlichen zwei mongolischen Original-Briefen der Könige von Persien Argun und Oeldshaitu an Philipp den Schönen*, St. Petersburg, 1824.

113, 61, 565, 642 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For discussion of agnatic relationship as an integrative principle in the Altaic-speaking steppe societies, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 549-568.]

121 essential than the linguistic one, uniting Central Asia with Constantinople.[1]

A brief review of the Pan-Turanian programme will be necessary before approaching the main object of this essay, i.e. the study of the Eastern or Central Asiatic 103 Turks. The term Central Asia, in accordance with Humboldt's definition, embraces the area lying between the Himalayas and the Altai Mountains, the Caspian 000 Sea and Khingan Range. As far as the Western or Osmanly Turks are concerned, they are dealt with in several recent publications, namely, Sir William Ramsay's *The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor* (Oxford University Press, 1916), Professor H. A. Gibbon's *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1916), Lord Eversley's *The Turkish Empire: its Growth and Decay* (Fisher Unwin, 1917), and *Le Problème Turc*, by Count Léon Ostroróg.[2] Though not dealing primarily with the racial question, these books give a vivid picture of the variety of races living under Osmanly (Ottoman) government, and of the artificiality 186 of the ties that unite them. Sir William Ramsay further tells us how the Osmanly government has tried to develop feelings of unity and patriotism among its subjects on the ground of the common participation in 186 the Islamic religion. But Pan-Islamism—Islam not 177 being exclusively the property of the Turks—would in itself hardly serve to strengthen the position of the ● 565 Turkic elements of the empire against Arabian and other alien Mahometans.

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[1] Since these pages were written the British advance in Asiatic Turkey, together with the situation produced by the Russian Revolution, has led the German-Osmanly diplomatists to revise some 'details' of their programme. See Appendix B.

[2] An English version of this work, entitled *The Turkish Enigma*, in Winifred Stephens's translation, has just been announced by Messrs. Chatto & Windus.

other alien Mahometans. To give prominence to the 186
Turkic element was not so simple, considering that five 177
centuries of residence in Europe have influenced the 565 ●
ruling classes of the Osmanly in such a way that they have completely lost contact with the Turkic masses subject to their rule; while these, again, by mixture and contact with the races of Asia Minor and south-eastern Europe, have lost the Asiatic character that they once possessed. Yet the upper classes of the Osmanly did not become thoroughly Europeanized, as the Hungarians did under similar conditions, and hence their chances of assimilating the lands and peoples that they conquered in Europe were almost non-existent even before
the Balkan War. After that war, there was nothing 186
left to the Osmanly but to turn to Asia, upon which they look as a land of expansion and of compensation for what they have lost in Europe. Hence, a justification for this change of policy was necessary, and this was easily found in the so-called principle of the self-determination of nationalities. The Osmanly thereupon proclaimed themselves to be of one nationality with the people of the far Asiatic lands of Turkestan, Jungaria, and the Siberian steppes.

It may be argued that there is something in the 000
political atmosphere of our century which makes people revert, as it were, to past ages. All who have affinities with both Europe and Asia seem to be ready now to claim their Asiatic blood, as we see that the Bulgarians, the Hungarians, and the Siberian Russians are doing.

But in the case of the Osmanly the sincerity of such 517
a movement becomes doubtful, when we consider that 186
the Osmanly *intelligentsia* have so far never felt them- 565
selves at one even with their own Osmanly common people. Thus they have never passed, as have the

517 educated classes of the European countries, through 186 a stage of 'folklorization' and 'nationalization' due to ● 565 contact with the masses, who through their backwardness preserve more of their national traditions. Even the Revolution of the 'Young Turks' did not bring about the breakdown of the caste distinction, and it was, in fact, like all other events in the political history of the Osmanly, a mere imitation of the Western nations, rather than a spontaneous outbreak of national feeling 186 against imperialistic government. There is no doubt 517 that such a truly national movement did begin when some years before the Balkan War a literary attempt led by Ziya Bey, Ahmed Shinassy Bey, and Namyk Kemal Bey, was made to purify the Osmanly language from its Arabian and Persian admixture. It is noteworthy that two of those leaders, Ziya Bey (later Pasha) and Kemal Bey, when exiled from Turkey by Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz for their political ideas, found refuge in London. But, before their brilliant writings brought about any literary revival or social revolution, the movement was checked by the subsequent political action of the 'Young Turks', or strictly speaking by the Committee of Union and Progress (Ittikhad), after they successfully abolished the influence of the more sound rival group, the Committee of Unity and Freedom (Ittilaf). The Pan-Islamic propaganda—bound up as it is with the Arabic language and culture—when carried on by that party in non-Turkic Islamic countries, ran contrary to the attempts of the literary reformers to free themselves from foreign [648] culture. Meanwhile, the political and economic dependence on Germany imposed by the ruling classes on the Osmanly country did not favour the further development of linguistic and other internal reforms.

619 and subdivided into the Arghyn, Naĭman, Kipchak, and Konkrat tribes.

3. Kichik-yüz (Kichik-jus) or Little Orda, living between the Aral Sea and the lower Volga, and subdivided into the Alchin and Yabbas tribes.

• 565 At the present time the 'hordes' of the Kaizak intermingle to a great extent, but class distinctions within the hordes are still upheld. The nobility, called Tiuri or Ak-sök, i. e. 'White Bones', trace their ancestry from Jinghis Khan, notwithstanding that the latter was a Mongol. All the other people are called Kara-sök, i. e. 'Black Bones'. 681 Some old legal customs still disregard the Russian law, as e. g. that of *baranta*, or revenge for a wrong inflicted on one tribesman or clansman, by carrying away the culprit's or his clansmen's herd.

618 Like the other Turks, the Kaizak base their social structure upon a patriarchal system. It is very difficult to define what should be called a clan among the Turks of Central Asia, in the sense in which that term is used in dealing with Africa and Australia. There seems to be a conception of a political group, called among both the Kirghis and the Kaizak *uruk* or *ru*, with its head, *bey*, *bi*, or *serdar* (possibly a confederation of such clans was once called *el*), while a group of families affiliated by blood is called by the Kaizak *taypas* or *tayfa* (by the Kirghis *kyrk*). The head of such a sub-clan, based on blood relationship, is called *ak-sakal*. An amalgamation of several sub-clans forms a *sök* (clan).

If a clan 'sök' increases in size, and wishes to divide or to migrate, the departive group sometimes takes as a name the word for the number of the sub-clans of which it is composed, e. g. *On* ('ten'), *Yur* ('a hundred'); or

M. 182 614 T.P. 182 614

Mongol could claim descent from a common ancestor with his ruler Chingis Khan; the lowliest Kazakh could make a similar claim in regard to his khan, as could a Kalmuk. The steppe society has a structure which may be likened to a set of concentric circles, the widest circle being the whole of Mongol society, the next widest a principality, the next a clan, the next a lineage or set of lineages internally disposed in the same manner, the next the village, and the smallest the extended family.

M. 182 614 565 T.P. 182 614 565

The comparison to a set of concentric circles must be qualified, however, because not all Mongols or Kazakh-Kirgiz are of equal birth; descent lines are collaterally ranked in terms of the birth-order of the respective founders, and at a certain point in the genealogical history of these lines, the highest ranking lineages have assumed noble status, while the others have remained in the commoner estate. The point in genealogical history when the society was split into two estates may be an event recorded in 'objective' history, such as the establishment of an empire, or a war, etc. In any case, it is an event outside the domain of kinship proper. The sibs do not form into a hierarchy of concentric structures; they are more like Kirchhoff's egalitarian clans.

M. 182 614 T.P. 182 614

The sib has had a set of political functions, even though such functions may be less spectacular than those of the clan and of the society with which the clan is

M. 182 614 T.P. 182 614

associated. The sib has served as a unit of administration by outside powers such as the Chinese, who have appointed sib leaders as the rulers of administrative units into which the sibs have been organized. But the sib is not a territorial unit; one's neighbor is not necessarily a fellow sib-mate. Despite the differences in structure and in kinship and political function, the sib of the Asiatic steppe parallels the clan in many respects: kinship is basically agnatic in both; authority is 'transmitted in the line of the eldest sons; if the eldest son's line dies out, it passes to the senior surviving brother; and if there is none such, to the next ranking father's brother, and so forth.

M. 182 614 565 T.P. 182 614 565

In regard to pastoral nomadic society of the steppe, the whole is consanguineally related in fact or fiction; however, there is a sharp cleavage between the clan and broader groupings than the clan on the one hand; and between the clan and its component units, such as the lineage, on the other. Only the clan and units larger than the clan, such as the principality, the khanate, etc., are divided into noble and commoner estates; the lineage and the extended family are homogeneously composed of either aristocrats or commoners, but not both. For this reason we may regard the clan not only as having a structure based on consanguinity, but also as a politico-military unit. The politico-military character of the division into estates is ultimately derived from a kinship

M. 182 614 565 T.P. 182 614 565

principle; but this is a purely genetic consideration. In actual function, the estates are politically, militarily, and economically distinct divisions. Thus the entire society of the Asiatic steppe is anomalous, for its major units are quasi-political and quasi-consanguineal structures. Because of their consanguineal character, the clan and other major units therefore will be briefly sketched in their specific forms for each of the societies, Buryat, Kalmuk, and so forth. As consanguineal structures, their analysis will afford insight into the kinship relations within smaller units. Nevertheless they cannot be a primary consideration in the analysis of kinship systems because they go beyond this mode of human relationship into the domain of political structure, etc.

Village and Family

M. 182 621 T.P. 182 621

The nomadic village on the Asiatic steppe is formed of a cluster of related families who pasture their herds together, camp together, nomadise together, combine for mutual protection and for religious rites. The village is a unit of local government having at its head an elder who, in company with other respected men of the community, guides its affairs and regulates its conduct, movements and relations with other units, larger, smaller, and coequal. The elder, who is the head of the senior family of the village, together with his compeers, the heads of

bridegroom leaves the *aul*. Some time after, when the 585
whole *kalym* is paid, he returns to fetch his wife, who again pretends to defend herself, and to be loath to leave her parents' *aul*. There is a show of taking her away by force. The first stage of the marriage, when [606]
the bridegroom lives in the house of the bride's parents, in regard to whom he must observe the custom of avoidance, cannot be dispensed with even if the whole *kalym* is paid at once.

Among some other Turks, such as the Turkomans and the Kazan 'Tatars', the period during which the bride remains with her people after the first marriage ceremony extends over several months, or even a couple of years.

The Kirghis are strictly exogamous as far as the 582
blood-clan is concerned. Before marriage a young woman is allowed a good deal of freedom with the men of her own clan, but custom forbids her to meet men of other clans.[1]

THE SIBERIAN TURKS[2] fall into two groups, one 101
consisting of the nation of the Yakut, the other of a conglomerate of clans and tribes known as the 'Siberian Tatars'; various branches of them are called according

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[1] P., 'The Customs of the Kirghis of the Semipalatinsk Territory', *Russian Messenger*, 1878, No. 9, pp. 32-7; A. Levshin, *Description of the Kirghis-Kaisak Hordes and Steppes*, 1832, pp. 100-102; P. E. Makovyetski, *Materials for the Study of the Juridical Customs of the Kirghis*, 1890, pp. 16-19; N. Grodekoff, *The Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis of the Syr Daria Territory*, pp. 63-5.

[2] To be distinguished from these Siberian Turks, who have been settled in the country since the very beginning of our era, are the 'Tatars' who migrated back from European Russia fairly recently. In 1897 the number of these in Asiatic Russia was 94,000, in 1911 they numbered 124,000. They are partly Nogai of the northern Caucasus, and partly Kazan 'Tatars', and many of them differ from the Russian colonists only in their Mahometan religion.

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101 The comparative isolation of the Kirghis from any but Turkic tribes gives some assurance that their customs have more right than those of many other tribes to be taken as typically Turkic. A picture of their marriage ceremony may be of interest in this connexion.

● 583 In general the wife is purchased, but as the bride-price (*kalym*) is usually paid in instalments there exists a special *rite de passage* between the arrangement of the
585 marriage and the final wedding ceremony. After the first part of the bride-price is paid, the bridegroom and his companions, bringing rich presents to the bride's family and to the match-makers, drive to the *aul* (village) of the bride, in the neighbourhood of which he halts. Meanwhile the *djinai* (female match-makers) prepare a special tent, to which they lead the bridegroom, while the bride is carried away from her parents to another tent belonging to some relative. Then a feast is held by the bride's parents, at which neither the bridegroom nor the bride is present. Late at night the *djinai* conduct the bride and bridegroom from their separate tents to the house of the bride's parents. The bride resists ceremonially, while the bridegroom is ceremonially hindered from reaching the house by the *djinai*, one of whom pretends to be a fierce dog, another a wild cow, and so on.

Early in the morning the bridegroom goes away, and for the whole day he must avoid his parents-in-law. This goes on for about a fortnight, after which the

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[2] To be distinguished from these Siberian Turks, who have been settled in the country since the very beginning of our era, are the 'Tatars' who migrated back from European Russia fairly recently. In 1897 the number of these in Asiatic Russia was 94,000, in 1911 they numbered 124,000. They are partly Nogai of the northern Caucasus, and partly Kazan 'Tatars', and many of them differ from the Russian colonists only in their Mahometan religion.

M. 182 621 T.P. 182 621 other leading families in the village, adjudicates disputes, maintains the social norms and mores by punishing evildoers, represents the village-kin-community before the reigning prince, oversees payment of tribute and taxes, and the supply of manpower for corvée and military service, attends to the mercantile endebtedness of the community; by the weight of their presence and inherent authority, as well as by specific acts and judgments, they unite the community and regulate its life.

M. 182 621 596 T.P. 182 621 596 The village is that which the family becomes if it is large enough and wealthy enough. Where these two conditions are satisfied, one might find a great tent belonging to the head of the household, flanked by the tents of the wives, and separate tents for all sons who are of age, whether married or only betrothed; the tents of married sons might in turn be flanked by tents of their offspring; and on the outer perimeter of the encampment lie the tents of poorer and more distant agnatic kinsmen, servants' tents, storage tents, baking and cooking tents, etc. Such an ideal is not often realized; a village is usually comprised of a number of related extended families, each with a modest household of a few tents arranged around the tent of the patriarch, and several such clusters combining to form the larger village pattern. In the eastern steppe, i.e., among the Buryats and Khalkhas, the village is circular in form, as are the component household

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clusters; in the western steppe, i.e., among the Kalmuks and Kasakh-Kirgiz, the village is deployed in the form of a broad arc open to the south, or in a straight line.

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The family is patriarchal: authority rests in the father, the senior male in the eldest generation of the household; marriage is patrilocal, wives come into the family of the husband. Polygyny occurs, in fact it is desired, but it is rare, to be undertaken only by those who can afford it, or who undertake it in the hope of assuring male issue and the continuation of the line. The steppe family is an extended family; that is, the family into which a son is born, and the family which he raises are one and the same, and there is usually an unbroken continuum of at least three generations: one generation past fertility, one child-bearing generation, and its offspring. Sometimes, if personality and wealth factors permit, this community may even include cousins who are sons of brothers, together with their children, making four generations and/or their progeny united in one family enclosure; but this, too, is rare. Nevertheless it is a valued situation, a desideratum, just as polygyny is.

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The extended family mirrors the corporate structure of the lineage: in theory it never dies, because it survives the life-span of any individual member; it has a clearly defined locus of authority, and in this respect is a purer type of corporate structure than is the steppe lineage; it has automatic rules of membership through birth, and rules of admission to membership through adoption such that the adopted son has the same social status as a natal son.

The extended family, like the patrilineage, is founded upon the principle of unilineal descent and agnatic relationship, i.e., it is composed of direct male descendants of a given man, close collateral kin, their wives and offspring. The conjugal families of which it is formed, on the other hand, are bilateral in structure,[29] for they are

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[29] Lowie, Primitive Society, 111.

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the reproductive units of society. This formulation is by no means an attempt to explain the facts of life by finding learned words for the obvious; a social fact is more than merely a biological fact. The conjugal family is not a unit of social structure in the steppe society; that is, no verbal formulation or conceptualization corresponds to what we understand by the conjugal family. The unit which herds, pastures, camps, moves, is the extended family; it may be identical with the conjugal family through losses. Again, kinship terms conform to this scheme: the father in old age bears the term for father's father; the mother in old age bears the term for father's mother: the conjugal family is conceived as an indissoluble part of the extended family. The distinction between biological fact and social interpretation is fundamental in such ideas as the distinction between actual and socially recognized paternity. In many societies, the husband of the mother is by law the father of the child, a doctrine embodied in the Code Napoleon, for example. It is in this sense that we must understand Fortes when he asserts that filiation is universally bilateral even in societies where descent is unilineal.[30] The extended family recognizes only a moiety (as Morgan would put it) of the relationships in the conjugal family.

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[30] Fortes, Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups, 33-34.

M. 182 596 T.P. 182 596 maternal kin sketched in above. Another contrast between the conjugal family and the extended family is that the former is essentially unstable, it may be broken up by divorce or migration, whereas the extended family is a permanent body, having, as we have seen, the properties of a corporate social structure.

M. 182 596 769 T.P. 182 596 769 The extended family of the Asiatic steppe is a diachronically oriented family. Such a family does not live for the present; it has received its birth, its being, its titles, honors, wealth, in short, its social position and status and property rights, from the past, from the ancestors, and holds them in trust for the future generations who will in turn honor the present locum tenens as an ancestor. The ancestors are honored and worshipped, not as genitors, those who have given birth to one, but as forebears, those who have kept the line of descent alive and maintained it across the generations, across M. 182 596 T.P. 182 596 time, diachronically. Thus the family corporeal and incorporeal property is not at all to be regarded as private property, nor even as the common, collective property of the congeners of the family. The entire patrimony is a trust to be held for the future, just as the family and lineage ancestors maintained the being of the line and its patrimony in trust for those yet to come. The practice of the levirate; the practice whereby children of an un-remarried widow belong to the family of the deceased husband regardless of who the actual sire is; the practice of adoption, of polygyny, all serve to maintain the line.

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182 With this type of diachronic orientation[1] is correlated—
596 601 again the question of cause and effect aside—many intri-
T.P. cacies of the kinship terminology. For instance, the
182 596 son's son is called by the same term as the brother's son:
601 the collateral line is downgraded a generation in this
equation. Implied is a reservoir of kin upon whom one
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T.P. [597] son adoption is the most common kind of adoption, and a
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000 To the diachronically oriented family is contrasted the synchronically oriented family, found in the patronymic-sib societies. In families of the synchronically oriented type—and in the sibs in which they are found—ancestors are venerated and a few outstanding ones worshipped individually, but for the most part they are not singled out; they are worshipped en masse. In the matter of inheritance, there is no notion of a patrimony being held in trust for the future. While property is not dissipated necessarily, interest and concern in its retention may be imputed to an acquisitive ethos, rather than to the conception of a corporate unit as a trust. The synchronic orientation of the family of this kind fits excellently with the structure of the patronymic-sib, which is a flat

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[1] [cf. cat. 116, p. 32 -- Analyst]

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[1] [cf. cat. 116, p. 32 -- Analyst]

113, 604, 601, 428 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For discussion of the avunculate in the Altaic-speaking steppe societies, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 591-600.]

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Bilaterality is a symmetrical conception, unilineality an asymmetrical one; and the symmetry inherent in the filiation pattern lies at the core of the cousin question. The basic cousin terminology, that from which all systems of cousin terms may be typologically, if not chronologically, derived on the Asiatic steppe is the reciprocal parallel cousin terminology; there is a common term for children of brothers, and a common term for children of sisters. The fundamental theme upon which all the variations are composed is the reciprocal term between maternal parallel cousins, and the reciprocal term between paternal parallel cousins. From these two reciprocal relationship terms may be derived the Buryat distinction between maternal and paternal cousin, simply by extending the term for paternal parallel cousin to include paternal cross cousin, and by performing a similar operation in the maternal cousin terms. Again, by holding the parallel cousin terminology constant, and so arranging the cross cousin terms that each is distinct from the other and from the parallel cousin terms as well, we derive the cousin systems of the Kalmuks and the Kasakh-Kirgiz. The basic system, that found in Ordos and in Classical Mongol, is chronologically older than any of its typological derivatives; and we thus achieve an insight into the culture history of Inner and Central Asia. Bilateral filiation is a basic conception relative to the avunculate as well, and to all those relationships to the maternal kin sketched in above.

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[29] Lowie, Primitive Society, 111.

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113, 604, 601, 428 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For discussion of the avunculate in the Altaic-speaking steppe societies, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 591-600.]

113, 61, 178 Turkic Peoples RL4

/For a discussion of the processes of fusion, fission, and feudalization which have operated in the development of all Turco-Mongol social groupings, see 2: Hudson, RQ2 Kazak, category 116, pp. 98-105. --Analyst/

113, 61, 565, 642

Turkic Peoples RL4

[For discussion of agnatic relationship as an integrative principle in the Altaic-speaking steppe societies, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 549-568.]

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degrees of kinship in the ascending male line, a number equal to the generation count in the minimal lineage; the marriage is patrilocal in residence. The family is patriarchal in authority and the family into which a man is born and the family he raises are one and the same, hence it is an extended family; it acts as a trust, diachronic in orientation. The totality of the kinship relations, inheritance and religious practices, function to perpetuate the line, which is simultaneously that of the lineage and of the family, supporting each other mutually, and being supported in turn by the system of corporate structural principles embodied in them.

Patrilineal Descent and Agnatic Relationship

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In the following pages, a broad geographic area will be covered, and a certain amount of time-depth as well, in tracing the kinship systems of the Mongol and Turkic societies. Nevertheless, a unifying structural feature may be discerned among them all: each of these societies is internally held together by the principle of patrilineal descent; descent in the paternal line is the social cement, and with one or two minor exceptions, there is no phase of the culture, no social relationship which is not founded on it. The economic system, the religious rites and ceremonies, the legal practices, the military and political organizations including the empires, are all based upon the system of agnatic relationships. The

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corporate structures of these societies are exclusively patrilineal; and this patrilineal composition, the set of agnatic relationships, has cast the entire kinship system into a distinctive pattern. The thesis of the following pages will be that the kinship systems of the various societies of the Asiatic steppes, the Buryats, the Ordos, the Kalmuks, the Monguor, and the Kazakh-Kirgiz, are a series of variations on that pattern, which is an abstraction, nowhere actualised in detail. To trace the working of the patrilineal principle throughout the entire culture, in religion, the economic system, the politico-military organisation, is far too broad an undertaking for the present study. However, evidence from these various spheres will be drawn upon to support and deepen the analysis of the kinship system. And thus some insight may be gained into the manner whereby the agnatic relationship constitutes the social nexus, and thereby imposes its characteristic features on every aspect of culture and society on the steppes. The patrilineal, agnatic kinship system of these peoples gives that society its form, and as form, imposes itself on the cultural content, influencing thought, ideology, values, Weltanschauung.

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614 178 logically demonstrable birth, or through the application
182 of a socially recognised fiction. Kirchhoff further
M. 614 distinguishes between "equalitarian" clans and clans in
182 121 which there are differently valued lines of descent; it
T.P. 614 is to the second type of clan that the Turko-Mongols be-
182 long. The mechanism for the establishment of these differentiations to the satisfaction of the various clan members has been described at length in the foregoing:[1] the arrangement of ranked collateral lineages based upon the birth order of the founders, in turn based on the principle of primogeniture; the mode of differential inheritance of the various corporeal and incorporeal aspects of the patrimony; these are the basic features of the mechanism for differentiation. Upon this mechanism is superimposed a structural device external to the clan, namely, the differentiation into noble and commoner estates which, however, realize in their turn the principle of differential descent and inheritance, this time rendered

Ka. fixed and impermeable. Nevertheless, throughout the
614 178 structure of Turko-Mongol society generally, and Kalmuk
182 society specifically, the practice of tracing descent
611 M. through genealogical reckoning back to a common ancestor,
614 182 is the basis of affirming all kinship and social relations,
121 611 the consanguineal as well as the affinal. By reckoning
T.P. 614 genealogy and degree of kinship relationship, eligibility
182 to marry is determined, obligation for economic, legal,

611 *[Cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, pp. 228-287--Analyst]

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military support, pasture rights, camping rights, and so forth. The genealogical principle, and the oral tradition upon which it is founded, is the basis for all social relations in the Turko-Mongol clan.

The concept of the clan as a group based upon the exact reckoning of descent in the form of genealogies (leaving aside the question of "truth" or accuracy of the genealogy) is contrasted with that of the named sib. The distinction upon which this contrast is based derives from a formulation proposed by Lowie: the sib, as he analyzes it, is a unilateral kinship group, i.e., tracing descent from either parent, but not both. The specific principle he brings to bear is the inheritance of a name, e.g., Smith, from either the father in a patri-sib, or the mother in a matri-sib, and this is all that is necessary for admission to membership in the given sib system.[148] Both the genealogical clan and the named sib are exogamic units, either in their totality, or in some operative sub-division of theirs which is based on the same respective principle, e.g., an exogamic lineage in the case of the clan as here defined.

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The Kalmuk social structure as presented in independently corroborative reports for the 20th century departed from the clan principle and conformed to that of the sib.

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[148] Lowie, Primitive Society, 111-112. Cf. also Lowie, Family and Sib, 28-40.

000 unit, without temporal depth, without deep oral tradition, as contrasted with the diachronically oriented social structure of the steppe pastoralists. Different too are the rules of marriage and of inheritance; above all, the genealogical charter, the expression in patrilineal terms of the oral tradition of the society, is missing in the named-sib and the synchronically oriented family.

M. T.P. 614 182 By way of summary, the society of the Asiatic steppe is a system of unilineal descent groups, membership in which is established either by real or fictive attribution of consanguinity, i.e., descent from a common ancestor. Consanguineal kinship in these groups is reckoned exclusively in the male line, and it is reckoned in the form of detailed genealogies, which may be demonstrable but are typically mythical. These units are the clans, composed of lineages. M. T.P. 613 182 The lineage may be analyzed in terms of three structural principles, that of patrilineal descent, that of differential inheritance, and the dual process of lineage fission and fusion. In consequence of the patrilineal descent pattern, consanguinity is attributed only to agnatic kin; in consequence of the principle of differential inheritance, the component lineages are collaterally ranked within the clan; kinship is fictively attributed to those who join a lineage through the fusion of a remnant lineage to another one.

Exogamy is practiced within a specified number of

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degrees of kinship in the ascending male line, a number equal to the generation count in the minimal lineage; the marriage is patrilocal in residence. The family is patriarchal in authority and the family into which a man is born and the family he raises are one and the same, hence it is an extended family; it acts as a trust, diachronic in orientation. The totality of the kinship relations, inheritance and religious practices, function to perpetuate the line, which is simultaneously that of the lineage and of the family, supporting each other mutually, and being supported in turn by the system of corporate structural principles embodied in them.

Patrilineal Descent and Agnatic Relationship

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000 it a unilateral kin group; the theorists of the clan cited here have equally consistently called it a unilineal kin group. Too much can easily be made of this distinction; however, it serves to reinforce the primary conceptions of the various proponents, and merely indicates that various leading thinkers have pursued their respective positions to remote points of etymology. The point remains, nevertheless, that a sib-member has little cause to reckon kinship lineally, i.e., backward or forward in time; his relationships are with those of his congeners who are his contemporaries, including two or three ascending generations, and the same number of descending generations; possibly, a fourth generation in either direction may be added if one takes in the references of one's father as well, and of one's son. The clan- and lineage-member, however, must reckon far beyond mortal memory and direct reference; he must have recourse to the oral tradition of his people which covers many centuries, for example in determining the eligibility of two people to marry.

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A common body of criteria for the clan has been derived from the theories and definitions of Morgan, Lowie, Kirchhoff, Radcliffe-Brown, Murdock, and Fortes.[1] The systems of consanguinity of the Asiatic steppe societies conform to these criteria of the clan, but have their own configurations unique to themselves; certain of the criteria are more important for the understanding of the

[1] [cf. cat. 116, pp. 7-22 -- Analyst]

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kinship systems than others; and among these, the genealogy which serves to constitute the clan as such, and to delineate the unit of exogamy by counting off a segment of itself to make up the prohibited degrees of relationship for marriage, is a central criterion. The clan, with its genealogical orientation, its ranked collateral lineages, its territorial locus, and its generation count in exogamy, is contrasted with the sib on the steppes of Asia. The sib as distinct from the clan is not a widely recognized concept, but has been given adequate theoretical foundation by Lowie and Murdock, and above all, is pragmatically applicable to the analysis of the steppe societies.

The functions of the clan, on the other hand, are not limited exclusively to kinship and consanguinity. These societies have frequently formed vast empires, notably those of Chingis Khan and the Chingisides, Tamurlane, the Golden Horde, as well as monarchies of lesser historical éclat. The clan may be likened to the anvil upon which the political being was hammered out; the clan has served as a politico-military unit, furnishing companies or regiments of cavalry, collecting taxes through the persons of its noble leaders, and administering the laws and regulations of the monarch. Nevertheless, a principle is to be observed that runs through the length of recorded history, and through all the social unities of steppe society from the humblest to the mightiest: the lowliest

Turkic Peoples RL4

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Mongol could claim descent from a common ancestor with his ruler Chingis Khan; the lowliest Kazakh could make a similar claim in regard to his khan, as could a Kalmuk. The steppe society has a structure which may be likened to a set of concentric circles, the widest circle being the whole of Mongol society, the next widest a principality, the next a clan, the next a lineage or set of lineages internally disposed in the same manner, the next the village, and the smallest the extended family.

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The comparison to a set of concentric circles must be qualified, however, because not all Mongols or Kazakh-Kirgiz are of equal birth; descent lines are collaterally ranked in terms of the birth-order of the respective founders, and at a certain point in the genealogical history of these lines, the highest ranking lineages have assumed noble status, while the others have remained in the commoner estate. The point in genealogical history when the society was split into two estates may be an event recorded in 'objective' history, such as the establishment of an empire, or a war, etc. In any case, it is an event outside the domain of kinship proper. The sibs do not form into a hierarchy of concentric structures; they are more like Kirchhoff's egalitarian clans.

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The sib has had a set of political functions, even though such functions may be less spectacular than those of the clan and of the society with which the clan is

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associated. The sib has served as a unit of administration by outside powers such as the Chinese, who have appointed sib leaders as the rulers of administrative units into which the sibs have been organized. But the sib is not a territorial unit; one's neighbor is not necessarily a fellow sib-mate. Despite the differences in structure and in kinship and political function, the sib of the Asiatic steppe parallels the clan in many respects: kinship is basically agnatic in both; authority is 'transmitted in the line of the eldest sons; if the eldest son's line dies out, it passes to the senior surviving brother; and if there is none such, to the next ranking father's brother, and so forth.

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In regard to pastoral nomadic society of the steppe, the whole is consanguineally related in fact or fiction; however, there is a sharp cleavage between the clan and broader groupings than the clan on the one hand; and between the clan and its component units, such as the lineage, on the other. Only the clan and units larger than the clan, such as the principality, the khanate, etc., are divided into noble and commoner estates; the lineage and the extended family are homogeneously composed of either aristocrats or commoners, but not both. For this reason we may regard the clan not only as having a structure based on consanguinity, but also as a politico-military unit. The politico-military character of the division into estates is ultimately derived from a kinship

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principle; but this is a purely genetic consideration. In actual function, the estates are politically, militarily, and economically distinct divisions. Thus the entire society of the Asiatic steppe is anomalous, for its major units are quasi-political and quasi-consanguineal structures. Because of their consanguineal character, the clan and other major units therefore will be briefly sketched in their specific forms for each of the societies, Buryat, Kalmuk, and so forth. As consanguineal structures, their analysis will afford insight into the kinship relations within smaller units. Nevertheless they cannot be a primary consideration in the analysis of kinship systems because they go beyond this mode of human relationship into the domain of political structure, etc.

Village and Family

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The nomadic village on the Asiatic steppe is formed of a cluster of related families who pasture their herds together, camp together, nomadise together, combine for mutual protection and for religious rites. The village is a unit of local government having at its head an elder who, in company with other respected men of the community, guides its affairs and regulates its conduct, movements and relations with other units, larger, smaller, and coequal. The elder, who is the head of the senior family of the village, together with his compeers, the heads of

000 unit, without temporal depth, without deep oral tradition, as contrasted with the diachronically oriented social structure of the steppe pastoralists. Different too are the rules of marriage and of inheritance; above all, the genealogical charter, the expression in patrilineal terms of the oral tradition of the society, is missing in the named-sib and the synchronically oriented family.

M. T.P. 614 182 By way of summary, the society of the Asiatic steppe is a system of unilineal descent groups, membership in which is established either by real or fictive attribution of consanguinity, i.e., descent from a common ancestor. Consanguineal kinship in these groups is reckoned exclusively in the male line, and it is reckoned in the form of detailed genealogies, which may be demonstrable but are typically mythical. These units are the clans, composed of lineages. M. T.P. 613 182 The lineage may be analyzed in terms of three structural principles, that of patrilineal descent, that of differential inheritance, and the dual process of lineage fission and fusion. In consequence of the patrilineal descent pattern, consanguinity is attributed only to agnatic kin; in consequence of the principle of differential inheritance, the component lineages are collaterally ranked within the clan; kinship is fictively attributed to those who join a lineage through the fusion of a remnant lineage to another one.

Exogamy is practiced within a specified number of

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again; but the second marriage was accompanied by no ceremony.[143] The clergy thus came to play an important role at the beginning of the marriage, for it was they who had to set the auspicious day by astrological calculations; they blessed the marriage during the wedding itself, and presided over its disruption.[144]

Kalmuk Society in the 20th Century

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From recent reports a clear indication of profound structural changes which Kalmuk society has undergone is manifest. Evidence that the Kalmuks have transformed their society from the former patri-clan system to another may be derived from the studies of Borisov[145] and Aberle.[146] The conception of the clan which most adequately conforms to the practical needs involved in the study of Turko-Mongol society is that advanced by Kirchhoff,[147] who starts with the basic definition of the clan as a unilineal descent group, i.e., tracing descent either in the male or the female line, but not both; and clan membership may be attributed to a person on the basis of bio-

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[143] Nebol'sin, op. cit., 113, VI, 105.

[144] de Hell, 259; Bergmann, II, 146; Nebol'sin, op. cit., 113, VI, 94, 105; Nefed'ev, 193.

[145] Borisov, 23.

[146] Aberle, ms.

[147] Kirchhoff, The Principles of Clanship, ms.

Ka. 614 178 logically demonstrable birth, or through the application
182 M. of a socially recognised fiction. Kirchhoff further
614 182 distinguishes between "equalitarian" clans and clans in
121 T.P. which there are differently valued lines of descent; it
614 is to the second type of clan that the Turko-Mongols be-
182 long. The mechanism for the establishment of these differentiations to the satisfaction of the various clan members has been described at length in the foregoing:[1] the arrangement of ranked collateral lineages based upon the birth order of the founders, in turn based on the principle of primogeniture; the mode of differential inheritance of the various corporeal and incorporeal aspects of the patrimony; these are the basic features of the mechanism for differentiation. Upon this mechanism is superimposed a structural device external to the clan, namely, the differentiation into noble and commoner estates which, however, realize in their turn the principle of differential descent and inheritance, this time rendered
Ka. fixed and impermeable. Nevertheless, throughout the
614 178 structure of Turko-Mongol society generally, and Kalmuk
182 society specifically, the practice of tracing descent
611 M. through genealogical reckoning back to a common ancestor,
614 182 is the basis of affirming all kinship and social relations,
121 611 the consanguineal as well as the affinal. By reckoning
T.P. 614 genealogy and degree of kinship relationship, eligibility
182 to marry is determined, obligation for economic, legal,

611 [1] [Cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, pp. 228-287--Analyst]

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military support, pasture rights, camping rights, and so forth. The genealogical principle, and the oral tradition upon which it is founded, is the basis for all social relations in the Turko-Mongol clan.

The concept of the clan as a group based upon the exact reckoning of descent in the form of genealogies (leaving aside the question of "truth" or accuracy of the genealogy) is contrasted with that of the named sib. The distinction upon which this contrast is based derives from a formulation proposed by Lowie: the sib, as he analyzes it, is a unilateral kinship group, i.e., tracing descent from either parent, but not both. The specific principle he brings to bear is the inheritance of a name, e.g., Smith, from either the father in a patri-sib, or the mother in a matri-sib, and this is all that is necessary for admission to membership in the given sib system.[148] Both the genealogical clan and the named sib are exogamic units, either in their totality, or in some operative sub-division of theirs which is based on the same respective principle, e.g., an exogamic lineage in the case of the clan as here defined.

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The Kalmuk social structure as presented in independently corroborative reports for the 20th century departed from the clan principle and conformed to that of the sib.

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[148] Lowie, Primitive Society, 111-112. Cf. also Lowie, Family and Sib, 28-40.

105 (*'ādat*). In religion they are now all Mahometans, in language they belong to the Jagatai Turks. Clan division is still fairly strict among them, and migrations are usually carried out in clans. Their custom of endogamy may be regarded as having as its object the preservation of the purity of their race from foreign admixture. Since the women are inferior in numbers to the men, the *kalym* or bride-price is very high, and in some places the unmarried men form 27 per cent. of the population. Their clans are nine in number, ● [618] two of them, however, being almost extinct. The chief clans are:

- *Chaudor*, between Khiva and the Caspian;
- *Yomut*, on the south shore of the Caspian, and in south-west Khiva;
- *Goklan*, on Persian soil;
- *Akhal* and *Merv Tekkes*, in the Akhal and Merv oases;
- *Sarik*, on the middle Murgab;
- *Salor*, round Merv and in northern Persia;
- *Ersari*, on the middle Amu Daria, and near Khoya Salih.

[144] Though linguistically and politically classified as Turks, in all these people the Iranian type predominates, in culture as well as in physique.

[162] THE SARTS (1,847,000 in 1911, as against 1,458,000 in 1897) live in the Ferghana and Syr Daria territories, and are also to be found sporadically in other parts of Turkestan.

[144] They are a mixture of the original Iranian inhabitants, the Tadjiks, with their Turanian conquerors, the Usbegs. In physical type they approach nearer to the Iranians. They live in villages, called *kishlak*, and their houses, called *sakla*, are made of a compound of wood and clay.

619 and subdivided into the Arghyn, Naïman, Kipchak, and Konkrat tribes.

3. Kichik-yüz (Kichik-jus) or Little Orda, living between the Aral Sea and the lower Volga, and subdivided into the Alchin and Yabbas tribes.

565 At the present time the 'hordes' of the Kaizak intermingle to a great extent, but class distinctions within the hordes are still upheld. The nobility, called Tiuri or Ak-sök, i. e. 'White Bones', trace their ancestry from Jinghis Khan, notwithstanding that the latter was a Mongol. All the other people are called Kara-sök, 681 i. e. 'Black Bones'. Some old legal customs still disregard the Russian law, as e.g. that of *baranta*, or revenge for a wrong inflicted on one tribesman or clansman, by carrying away the culprit's or his clansmen's herd.

618 Like the other Turks, the Kaizak base their social structure upon a patriarchal system. It is very difficult to define what should be called a clan among the Turks of Central Asia, in the sense in which that term is used in dealing with Africa and Australia. There seems to be a conception of a political group, called among both the Kirghis and the Kaizak *uruk* or *ru*, with its head, *bey*, *bi*, or *serdar* (possibly a confederation of such clans was once called *el*), while a group of families affiliated by blood is called by the Kaizak *taypas* or *tayfa* (by the Kirghis *kyrk*). The head of such a sub-clan, based on blood relationship, is called *ak-sakal*. An amalgamation of several sub-clans forms a *sök* (clan).

If a clan 'sök' increases in size, and wishes to divide or to migrate, the departive group sometimes takes as a name the word for the number of the sub-clans of which it is composed, e.g. *On* ('ten'), *Yur* ('a hundred'); or choose some characteristic trait of their group, e. g. 618 Kaizak, 'Wanderers free as steppe birds', Kara-Sakal, 'Black Beards', Kara-Kalpak, 'Black Caps'. Sometimes they may adopt the name of their leader, e. g. Usbegs, Seljuk, or that of the most influential sub-clan, e. g. Sakhalar (the name of the nation called by the Russians the Yakut), though not all the members of this nation belong to the Sakhalar sub-clan. The clan- [174] name Sakhalar (sing. Sakky) is to be found among many Turkic people of the Abakan and upper Yenisei, and it was probably only with the Russian advance at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries that one group of the Sakhalar clan migrated towards Lake Baikal, and then northwards along the Lena, while a smaller group went directly northwards along the Yenisei. This would be about the time when the Burut-Kirghis migrated from the upper Yenisei to Jungaria.[1]

Thus in the case of these migrations the clan names are not sufficient guide in tracing the racial affinity of the people. More assistance is obtained from a study of their sub-clan crests, or *tamgas* (sing. *tamga, tamaga, tamka, dam-k'a, t'amga*), and their war-cries (*urany*, sing. *uran*). It is curious that these two most interesting sources of ethnological evidence have so far been only partly investigated, though considering the numerous divisions and subdivisions existing among the Turkic peoples, and the fact that the national names are, as has been seen, accidental and variable, any permanent means

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[1] N. N. Kosmin, *D. A. Klements and the Historical and Ethnographical Investigation of the Minusinsk Country*, Irkutsk, 1916, pp. 13-15.

618 of throwing light on their racial relationships ought to be welcomed.

[619] How complicated their tribal and clan subdivisions are is seen in the following table given by the Kaizak ethnologist Mustafa Chokayeff, to explain his own standing in the Kaizak nation.[1] He belongs to—

Turkic race,
Kaizak nation,
Middle orda,
Kipchak tribe,
Toru-aibgyr clan,
Shashli sub-clan,
Boshai branch (in Russian *kolieno*),
Janay sub-branch (*podkolieno*).

The *tamga* may be regarded as the symbol of a sub-clan (*tayfa* among the Kaizak, *kyrk* among the Kirghis), a group of families affiliated by blood, because it is such groups which usually live together, and whose live stock, whether reindeer, horses, or dromedaries, are marked by this symbol. The *tamga* appears also on their various belongings, as well as on the graves of deceased members of the clan.

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The antiquity of these symbols can be judged from the fact that they are to be seen on the old Nestorian monuments, and on the monument to Khan Kul-Tegin in the valley of the Orkhon, on which the inscriptions are in old Turkic characters, dating from 732 A.D.[2] Those who boldly derive the old Turkic written

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[1] A. N. Samoylovich, 'Prohibited words in the vocabulary of a married woman among the Kaizak', *L. A. T.*, vols. I-II, 1915, p. 162.

[2] N. A. Aristoff, *Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition*, &c., 1894, p. 410; N. Mallitski, *On the connection between the Turkic 'tamga' and the Orkhon characters*, 1897-8, p. 43.

character from the clan *tamgas* would of course claim greater antiquity than that of Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions. 618 172

According to tradition, the *tamga* was introduced among the Kaizak by their Khan Tiavka, because the Kaizak of his time were so rich in cattle that some device of this kind was necessary for the identification of the various herds. Some think that the origin of the *tamga* is to be sought in Mongolia, but as a matter of fact it occurs among the Turks no less frequently than among the Mongols and Tungus, because the custom of marking cattle is natural and common to most pastoral people. As may be expected, the pastoral Turks, such as the Kaizak and some of the Kirghis, have the *tamga* system much more highly developed than have the sedentary part of the Kirghis, the Altaians, and the forest and mountain Turks generally. Being either hunters or agriculturists, they have less need of the *tamga* for practical purposes. The study of the *tamgas* gives in many cases a clue to the composition of the tribe; for example, among the Kaizak there are to be found *tamgas* of various Turkic tribes of Asia, either in their original form or as composite signs, thus proving conclusively the mixed origin of that people.[1] 618 531

It is difficult to ascertain how far the *tamga* corresponds to a totem. Some *tamgas* seem to represent merely geometric designs: the Naïman clans had as their favourite *tamga* an angle, the Kirei use a square. Some of the Kaizak of the Middle Orda have *tamgas* representing a 'bird's rib' (*urdas bii*), a comb (*tarak*), and a forked stick (*selak*). Sometimes, however, the

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[1] Aristoff, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

618 531 *tamga* plays more obviously the rôle of a totem. Among the Turks of the Minusinsk country there exist survivals of public clan sacrifices to the spirit-owner of the clan, for instance the horse, which appears also to be the clan *tamga*.

At the present time the *tamga* is usually cut or branded on the left side of the animal, i.e. the side from which the rider mounts, but the exact place where the mark is made differs among the various tribes.

The fact that the same *tamgas* are used on graves belonging to the same clan is of assistance in tracing the migration of clans, but it is only by considering the *tamga* on the one hand, and the *uran* or war-cry on the other, that the origin of a group can be traced. The *uran* was originally the common property of a political group, a larger unit than the group of blood-relations who owned the *tamga*. It often consists of the name of a well-known chief or hero, but since the Turkic tribes have ceased to lead a warrior's life the new generation scarcely remember the battle-cry of the clan, and hence the *uran* is more difficult of discovery than the *tamga*. Grodekoff,[1] perhaps the most successful of all the investigators along these lines, found that the chief *uran* of the Great Orda, namely, of the clans Jalair and Dulat, was 'Bahtyar', the name of one of the Kaizak heroes; the Kangli have a *uran* 'Bayterek', which is
618 probably a corrupt form of the same name. This community of the *uran* confirms what is now known about the relationship between the Kangli and the Jalair. Sometimes the name of the clan is used as a *uran*, as

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[1] *The Kirghis and Kara-Kirghis of the Syr Daria Territory*, 1829, pp. 2-3.

among the Seykym clan of the Kaizak, whose *uran* is also 'Seykym'. 618•

Though the Kaizak belong geographically to the 221
Iranized Turks, culturally they have on the whole 231
much affinity with the Mongols. The majority are still nomadic cattle and horse breeders. Their method of cattle-keeping is a most luxurious one. They leave the cattle on the pastures the whole year round, hence their only care is to find a fresh pasture every season. The spring and autumn pastures may be the same. It is only recently, since more of the land has been claimed by the Russian Immigration Committee, that the Kaizak have begun to lay up winter stores for their cattle. Each clan has defined limits to its pasture lands. Under the old Russian system the pasture land used by the Kaizak belonged to the State, and they were granted the use of it, dividing it at their communal gatherings according to the number of people, cattle, and vehicles
in each class. The permanent houses, gardens, arable [428]
land, and irrigation canals are hereditary.[1]

It is curious to note that the Kaizak, whose dwellings 764
are so light and portable, bury their dead in solid structures of wood, clay, and brick. This custom also exists among the Kara-Kirghis, and was known to the old Yenisei-Kirghis. As it is not found among the non-Turkic population of Central Asia, it seems to indicate that those who practise it now are perhaps the nearest relatives of the people who built the old burial mounds of the Yenisei, called *kurgans*.

THE KARA-KALPAK ('Black Caps'), another Turkic 101
tribe of the same group (134,313 in 1911 as against 162
111,799 in 1897), live in the Amu Daria district of the

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[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, p. 159.

Russians. Some few of them still live in the upper /01 Yenisei valley, where they are mixed with the Abakan 'Tatars', but the majority of them are now to be found south of Yarkand, round by Pamir and Alai, to the north of Kashgar and Aksu (the Issyk-kul district). Many of them are known under their clan-names, others form the nation of the *Kara-Kirghis.*

The Kara-Kirghis fall into two branches, a right branch, called Ong, and a left, called Sol. The Ong branch is divided into two groups, Edigzne and Tagai. The Tagai group is composed of seven clans:[1] 618 •

1. Bugu (Stag), near the River Tekes, and to the east of Lake Issyk-kul.
2. Sary Bagish (Yellow Elk), to the south and west of Lake Issyk-kul.
3. Solto, south of the River Chu.
4. Sayak.
5. Cherik (Army) in Ferghana.
6. Chong Bagish (Great Elk), west of Kashgar.
7. Bassyz.

The Sol branch is less numerous, and lives chiefly along the River Talas. It includes three clans, Saru, Koshi, and Munduz.

All these Kirghis clans are related by intermarriage to the Naiman and the Kipchak, who, however, are reckoned to be quite a different nation.

It must be noted that Kirghis occurs also as a clan-name among the Usbegs and the Altaians.

The Kara-Kirghis have clan *tamgas* like the Kaizak, but the headship of their clan is a hereditary office, in contradistinction to the custom of the Kaizak, whose heads are elected. The head of the Kara-Kirghis clan is called *manap*, and the head of a confederation of clans is called aga-manap.

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[1] Aristoff, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

101 people who mix their pagan practices with some of the
177 Russian Orthodox Church beliefs. Those are:

791 5. The Forest (Chern) Tatars of the Biisk district.
6. The Teleut and Telengit of the Biisk and Kuznietsk districts.
7. The Kumandits (or 'White Kalmucks') of the Kuznietsk and Biisk districts.
8. The Shortes and Lebyedints of the Kuznietsk district.
9. The Kyzyl and Chulim natives of the Achinsk district.
10. The Abakan Tatars (Kachints, Koibal, Beltir, and Sagai) of the Minusinsk district.
11. The Karagass of the Nijneudinsk district of the government of Irkutsk.
12. The Kamashints of the Kansk district.

177 The *Teleut* of the Kuznietsk district are perhaps the
101 most Russified, while the *Telengit*, along the rivers
144 Biya and Katun, are very much mixed with the Mongols.
The following tribes are said to be mixed with the Ugrian-Ostyak, the Yenisei-Ostyak, and the Samoyed, though in culture, language, and tradition they are now Turkic:

1, The Kamashints; 2, the Karagass; 3, the Koibal; 4, the Beltir; 5, the Kyzyl; 6, the Shortes; 7, the Kumandints.

144 The racial origin of these tribes has been defined,
● 618 often superficially, merely judging from the names of
their clans. Thus the Kyzyl (*Kysi*, 'man') are composed of ten classes: Kyzyl, Malo-Achin, Bolshe-Achin, Agy, Bassagar, Kamnar, Argyn, Kalmak, Kurchik, Shui. Of these, Argyn clan is said to be the remnant of the Kaizak of the Middle Orda, because those people have also had a clan of this name. Kalmak clan is also

found among the Teleut, and Shui among Yenisei 618 Ostyak, hence the admixture of the two races is attributed 144 to Kyzyl by Radloff.[1]

Most of the Siberian Tatars, as well as Northern 101 Uriankhai, call themselves Tuba, either exclusively or 174 alongside with their tribal name, *Tuba* being the name of one of their clans. This name *Tuba*, *Tubas*, *Tupo* or *Doubo*, like the word *Tatar*, should be used with great caution, until its origin and meaning have been more clearly defined. It seems to have been adopted by the Chinese as a collective term for the people living in the Southern Yenisei Region, probably along the river of this name, the right tributary of the Yenisei. The Russian historians of Siberia, Miller[2] and Fischer,[3] mention the people of Tuba as paying tribute to the Mongol Altyn Khan, and opposing for a long time Russian conquest, but it is not clear whether this name had a racial meaning, designating, e. g., the extinct Arine, Kottes, &c., or the Samoyed, or was used only as a geographical term for all peoples living near the River Tuba. Now at any rate it does not seem to be limited entirely to the tribes whom one can suspect of having some Samoyed blood in them, for it is found among the Altaians, whom even Castrén and Kostroff with all their 'Pan-Samoyedic' theory could not call 'Tatarised Samoyed'. It is found moreover among the *Kachints*, who, according to Katanoff,[4] were Kuchum-Khan people, who moved to the River Kacha, near Krasnoyarsk, after the defeat of Kuchum, and farther

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[1] A. A. Yariloff, *The Kyzyl and their Industry*, 1899, p. 1.

[2] G. F. Miller, *Description of the Tsardom of Siberia* (1750).

[3] J. E. Fischer, *Sibirische Geschichte* (1768).

[4] 'Legends relating to old deeds and old people among the tribes living near the Sayan Mountains', *Mem. I. R. G. S.*, vol. XXXIV, 1909, p. 280.

197 174 That at one time a Samoyed group might have migrated to the Soyot (Uriankhai) is not out of the question, since many clan-names of the Samoyed and the Uriankhai are alike. But no other signs of this relationship can be found now, and the southernmost Turks, who may have been originally Samoyed, are the Kamashints, some of whom, at the time of Castrén's travels (1840–50), were speaking a Samoyedic dialect. When Radloff visited them, however (about 1865), all signs of Samoyedic speech had disappeared, and only a Turkic dialect was in use.

233 174 Radloff thinks that the Uriankhai are the forefathers of the present Yakut,[1] which, however, sounds improbable, if only because the Uriankhai are almost the most successful reindeer-breeders known, whilst the Yakut learnt that art only after their migration to the north.

619 The number of the Uriankhai is some 100,000. Until recently they formed one *aimak* or province of China. They are subdivided into nine local groups (*khoshun* or *kopun*), which again are divided into *sumo* or tribes. The *sumo* is further subdivided into *sōk*, clans, or • [618] perhaps moieties. The clan-names are mostly of Turkic origin, many of them being found also among other Turanian Turks, e.g. Irgit, Soyan, Kirghis, Kaizak, Koeluk, Uigur, &c.

233 The Uriankhai living in the steppe country are mostly cattle-breeders; some of them, however, depend chiefly on hunting and fishing. It is only in this region that we find the breeding of horse, yak, and reindeer for

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[1] Radloff, 'Die Jakutische Sprache', *Bull. I.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 54-6. For opposite opinion see I. P. Silinich, 'On the question of the physical type of the population of North-west Siberia', *Russ. Anthr. J.*, Nos. 3-4, 1916, pp. 51-3.

In contrast to the origin of the Usbegs and the Kaizak 101 is the origin of the real Kirghis, by which is meant the Eastern or Yenisei Kirghis, called by the Russians the Burut-Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis. These have more right to be called Turanian Turks than the Kaizak, who may be said to stand between the two groups. They will therefore be dealt with under that head (Turanian).

THE KAIZAK live in the northern and eastern part of the Aral-Caspian basin, and in the Orenburg Steppes. Together with the Kara-Kirghis and some of the [162] Yenisei Kirghis—i. e. all the people whom the Russians call Kirghis, and so include under one head in their census—they numbered 4,700,000 in 1911 as against 4,100,000 in 1897. Out of this total the non-Kaizak element may be reckoned at between 500,000 and 800,000 (in 1911).

The Kaizak say that they are sprung from the Usbegs, and that the Kara-Kirghis are sprung from dogs, but the Kara-Kirghis call themselves brothers of the Kaizak, and are in fact probably related to them, since the Kaizak have recruited themselves not only from the Usbegs but also from other Turkic states.

The Kaizak were divided by their Khan Tiavka in 619• the thirteenth century into three 'hordes', called Ordas. This was done for administrative purposes, but since the death of Tiavka the history of each orda runs independently.

The ordas are:

1. Ulugh-yūz (Ulu-jus) or Great Orda, living in the neighbourhood of the rivers Chu and Talas, and subdivided into the Abdan and Dolat tribes.
2. Urta-yūz (Urta-jus) or Middle Orda, living between the rivers Tobol and Irtish and the Syr Daria,

● 619 and subdivided into the Arghyn, Naïman, Kipchak, and Konkrat tribes.

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[1] A. N. Samoylovich, 'Prohibited words in the vocabulary of a married woman among the Kaizak', *L. A. T.*, vols. I–II, 1915, p. 162.

[2] N. A. Aristoff, *Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition*, &c., 1894, p. 410; N. Mallitski, *On the connection between the Turkic 'tamga' and the Orkhon characters*, 1897–8, p. 43.

197 174 That at one time a Samoyed group might have migrated to the Soyot (Uriankhai) is not out of the question, since many clan-names of the Samoyed and the Uriankhai are alike. But no other signs of this relationship can be found now, and the southernmost Turks, who may have been originally Samoyed, are the Kamashints, some of whom, at the time of Castrén's travels (1840–50), were speaking a Samoyedic dialect. When Radloff visited them, however (about 1865), all signs of Samoyedic speech had disappeared, and only a Turkic dialect was in use.

233 174 Radloff thinks that the Uriankhai are the forefathers of the present Yakut,[1] which, however, sounds improbable, if only because the Uriankhai are almost the most successful reindeer-breeders known, whilst the Yakut learnt that art only after their migration to the north.

• 619 The number of the Uriankhai is some 100,000. Until recently they formed one *aimak* or province of China. They are subdivided into nine local groups (*khoshun* or *koshun*), which again are divided into *sumo* or tribes. The *sumo* is further subdivided into *sök*, clans, or [618] perhaps moieties. The clan-names are mostly of Turkic origin, many of them being found also among other Turanian Turks, e.g. Irgit, Soyan, Kirghis, Kaizak, Koeluk, Uigur, &c.

233 The Uriankhai living in the steppe country are mostly cattle-breeders; some of them, however, depend chiefly on hunting and fishing. It is only in this region that we find the breeding of horse, yak, and reindeer for

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[1] Radloff, 'Die Jakutische Sprache', *Bull. I.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 54–6. For opposite opinion see I. P. Silinich, 'On the question of the physical type of the population of North-west Siberia', *Russ. Anthr. J.*, Nos. 3–4, 1916, pp. 51–3.

175 101 Abul Ghazi, Kasem Beg, Vambéry, Klaproth, and Schott, derive the name Uigur from a Turkic root, J. I. Schmidt refers it to the Mongolian language, and places the origin of the Uigur people in Tibet.[1] If we accept Professor Radloff's view that the bulk of the Hun-nu, or rather the southern branch of them, were the On-Uigur, then we know that most of them moved towards the west along the steppes lying north of Tian-Shan. But the people who played their part in the history of Central Asia were those of the On-Uigur who remained behind in Eastern Turkestan, especially in the basin of the Tarim, and the Togus-Uigur in the northern part of the present Mongolia. That branch of them who were already established near the Aral Sea in the second century A. D. are often called by their neighbours simply *On* or *Onlar* ('Ten').[2] Later, when after the death of Attila the Hunnic Empire broke into separate tribes, they again assumed their tribal names, viz. On-Uigur, Utigur, Sary-Uigur, Kotrigur, while the name Hun almost disappears. Of these tribes, the On-Uigur are known to have been in the north of the Caucasus in the seventh century, on their way back to Asia.[3]

174 It is difficult to follow the exact fate of these remnants of the Hun-nu Empire. Presumably a part of them settled among the Finnic tribes of the steppe forest near the Urals, but there is so far very little proof in support of the somewhat vague assumption that the

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[1] *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Völker Mittelasiens*, St. Petersburg, 1824, p. 95.

[619] [2] Among the Turks a confederation of tribes very often has as its name the number of the tribes composing it, e.g. Uz, 100, probably the same as Ghuz. Radloff, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[3] Radloff, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

113, 621, 233, 182 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For material on the nomadic kin-village among the Altaic-speaking peoples of the Asiatic steppe, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 568-574.]

M. 182 614 565 T.P. 182 614 565

principle; but this is a purely genetic consideration. In actual function, the estates are politically, militarily, and economically distinct divisions. Thus the entire society of the Asiatic steppe is anomalous, for its major units are quasi-political and quasi-consanguineal structures. Because of their consanguineal character, the clan and other major units therefore will be briefly sketched in their specific forms for each of the societies, Buryat, Kalmuk, and so forth. As consanguineal structures, their analysis will afford insight into the kinship relations within smaller units. Nevertheless they cannot be a primary consideration in the analysis of kinship systems because they go beyond this mode of human relationship into the domain of political structure, etc.

Village and Family

M. 182 621 T.P. 182 621

The nomadic village on the Asiatic steppe is formed of a cluster of related families who pasture their herds together, camp together, nomadize together, combine for mutual protection and for religious rites. The village is a unit of local government having at its head an elder who, in company with other respected men of the community, guides its affairs and regulates its conduct, movements and relations with other units, larger, smaller, and coequal. The elder, who is the head of the senior family of the village, together with his compeers, the heads of

M. 182 621 T.P. 182 621

other leading families in the village, adjudicates disputes, maintains the social norms and mores by punishing evildoers, represents the village-kin-community before the reigning prince, oversees payment of tribute and taxes, and the supply of manpower for corvée and military service, attends to the mercantile endebtedness of the community; by the weight of their presence and inherent authority, as well as by specific acts and judgments, they unite the community and regulate its life.

M. 182 621 596 T.P. 182 621 596

The village is that which the family becomes if it is large enough and wealthy enough. Where these two conditions are satisfied, one might find a great tent belonging to the head of the household, flanked by the tents of the wives, and separate tents for all sons who are of age, whether married or only betrothed; the tents of married sons might in turn be flanked by tents of their offspring; and on the outer perimeter of the encampment lie the tents of poorer and more distant agnatic kinsmen, servants' tents, storage tents, baking and cooking tents, etc. Such an ideal is not often realized; a village is usually comprised of a number of related extended families, each with a modest household of a few tents arranged around the tent of the patriarch, and several such clusters combining to form the larger village pattern. In the eastern steppe, i.e., among the Buryats and Khalkhas, the village is circular in form, as are the component household

T.P. M. 182 621 596 clusters; in the western steppe, i.e., among the Kalmuks and Kazakh-Kirgis, the village is deployed in the form of a broad arc open to the south, or in a straight line.

M. 182 596 T.P. 182 596 The family is patriarchal: authority rests in the father, the senior male in the eldest generation of the household; marriage is patrilocal, wives come into the family of the husband. Polygyny occurs, in fact it is desired, but it is rare, to be undertaken only by those who can afford it, or who undertake it in the hope of assuring male issue and the continuation of the line. The steppe family is an extended family; that is, the family into which a son is born, and the family which he raises are one and the same, and there is usually an unbroken continuum of at least three generations: one generation past fertility, one child-bearing generation, and its offspring. Sometimes, if personality and wealth factors permit, this community may even include cousins who are sons of brothers, together with their children, making four generations and/or their progeny united in one family enclosure; but this, too, is rare. Nevertheless it is a valued situation, a desideratum, just as polygyny is.

M. 182 602 596 T.P. 182 602 596 The wife in such a family structure has a double relationship, for her family of procreation is not that into which she was born, and she retains special ties to her natal family throughout her life. These ties are revealed by the special term which she uses in referring to

3: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RL4 Turkic Peoples RL4

On the other hand, the Russian collapse has left the 648 way open to the activity of the Pan-Turanian propagandists, who seem to have been successfully checked by the Revolution at its *first* stage—warmly greeted as it was in Siberia and Central Asia. The Second 669 Revolution, with its Marxian spirit foreign to Asiatic people, had in this region adherents almost entirely composed of Russian colonists. It would seem that

On June 25, 1916, (old style), there appeared a Ukaz from the 636 Tsar calling all the male natives of the Caucasus, Turkestan, 425 the Caspian Steppe country, Siberia, and the Astrakhan and 701 Stavropol steppes, for service connected with the war, a proceeding contrary to the fundamental law relating to the native population, under which these natives were definitely exempt from any form of military service. This order came at a time when the natives were all occupied with the cotton-fields of Turkestan, the wheat-fields of Siberia, or with reindeer-breeding in the mountains. The President of the Mussulman Party of the Duma, K. B. Tevkeleff, made a vigorous protest to the then Prime Minister, M. Stürmer, against the coercive measures employed in calling up the natives. In spite of this, the ruthless [669] behaviour and corrupt methods of the local administration of some parts of Turkestan brought about a rising of the population, especially of the Kara-Kirghis and the Sart. The most terrible conflicts occurred at Djizak in the Samarkand district, and in other parts of Semirechie, as a result of which the local administration confiscated all the land and property of the natives, took away forcibly all men of military age, and sent what remained of the population (about 20,000), chiefly women, to die of starvation in the bare mountain region. General Kuropatkin, then Governor-General of the country, decided that the shores of Lake Issyk-kul, the valley of the River Tekes and of the River Keben, and the eastern part of the River Chuya, were to be cleared of the Kara-Kirghis and colonized only by Russians. See the official publications, *Turkestan News*, No. 185, 1916, and *Semirechie District News*, Nos. 201–15, 1916. The question was brought before the Duma, and the Investigation Committee, guided by M. Kerensky, was sent to Semirechie and Samarkand. But it was only after the First Revolution, and by order of the Provisional Government, that the natives were allowed to return to their country.

includes these people, and there is some linguistic excuse 101 for this in the case of the Azerbeijan. Before the present [665] war representatives of many Russian Mahometans could be found at the Pan-Islamic Conferences in Turkey, and within Russia they formed a 'Russian Mussulman Party' in the Duma, but so far they have never been united on ground of racial or national community. Although these East European Turks will play an important rôle in the politics of the near future, and have already played their part in the Caucasus, they will not be dealt with here, since they are not typically representative of the Eastern Turks. Besides, the problems relating to them are beyond the boundary of Asia.

The classification here proposed differs from that given by Vambéry[1] in 1885, in that his first four groups, viz. Siberian Turks, Central Asiatic Turks, Volga Turks, and Pontus Turks, are grouped together under the name Eastern Turks, leaving his fifth group, Western Turks, unaltered.

The Eastern Turks.

Before tracing the Eastern Turks in history, some 636 account must be given of them as they are at the present day. Politically, almost all of them are dependent on Russia; only some 1½-2 millions are subject to China. Culturally and ethnically they fall into two groups, differing widely from each other.

The first group consists of the Turks of Turkestan 101 and some of the Turks of the Caspian Steppe country. 177 Since their appearance in this region they have been constantly under Iranian influence, and hence have off from the other Central Asiatic powers, just as in 175 the eighteenth century they succeeded in encircling the Finno-Turkic nation of the Bashkir between the Volga and the Urals.

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[1] A. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 85-6.

The first Turkic intellectual centre to fall into Russian hands was Tashkent in 1865, and three years later the capital of the Iranian Turks, Samarkand (known to the Greeks as Marakanda, and captured by Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C.), lost its independence. This decided the fate of Bokhara, which became a dependent state, and a little later, in 1875, Khiva succumbed also. The Khanate of Kokand, conquered in 1875, was renamed the Ferghana Territory. The next tribe to be subdued was the Turkomans, whose courageous and obstinate defence was broken by the fall of Gheok-Tepe in 1881. In 1895 the eastern boundary of Russian territory was fixed at the Pamir.

The Central Asiatic territories were never colonized 636 to the same extent as Siberia, or even the Caspian Steppe country; they might be called dependencies rather than colonies. Economically during the last two decades these provinces have begun to increase their output of cotton, fruit, and other local products, but intellectually the Iranian Turks have vegetated in the antiquated remnants of the Arabo-Persian civilizations, influenced gradually by the slow, heavy progress of Russian culture. The Turanian Turks, in much greater political subjection than the Iranian, and economically entirely dependent on Russian colonization, have kept their primitive culture from spurious elements, either Arabo-Persian or Chinese, but they are, of all the Turks, the most amenable to the influence of Russian peasant life.

113, 61, 565, 642 Turkic Peoples RL4

[For discussion of agnatic relationship as an integrative principle in the Altaic-speaking steppe societies, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 549-568.]

adopted the name of the mountain Durkö as a tribal 000
name.

There seems to be some confusion as to the geo- 103
graphical position of the mountain thus connected with the rise of the Durkö, Tu-kiu, or Turks. Professor Parker[1] places it not far from the city of Shan-tan in the modern province of Kan-su, which in the sixth century was called Kin-shan, i. e. 'Golden Mountains'. But the birthplace of the Turks is usually held to be the Altai Mountains, which are also called Kin-shan. Since when we first hear of the Turks they are expert metal-workers, it would seem that the Altai, with its incomparable mineral wealth, is more likely to be the Kin-shan of the Chinese sources. All modern archaeological and ethnological investigations support this view.

At the end of the fifth century the Tu-kiu became 175
very prosperous, probably thanks to their metal industry and the richness of the mountains near which they settled, and in A. D. 530 their prince Tumen (Tumin) threw off the yoke of the Jwen-Jwen and soon subjugated all the Turkic states of Central Asia to himself, adopting the title of Il-Khagan.[2] For a short time—

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[1] Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[2] It would seem that the title Khagan (Khan), usually so closely 643
associated with the Turks, and occurring in the Turkic inscriptions 177
of the Orkhon, is not Turkic, but Tungus. But this hypothesis of Blochet holds good only if it be assumed that the Jwen-Jwen were Tungus, and that Tumen used their title after taking the hegemony in Central Asia from them. The title used by the chiefs of the Huns was Chab-gu, and at the time when the Huns were at the height of their power the chiefs of the Jwen-Jwen Tungus adopted the title Chab-gu, until at the beginning of the fifth century they were strong enough to impose on other people their own title of Khagan, which was taken up by Tuimien in 552 (Blochet, *op. cit.*, p. 305).

517 educated classes of the European countries, through
186 a stage of 'folklorization' and 'nationalization' due to
565 contact with the masses, who through their backwardness preserve more of their national traditions. Even the Revolution of the 'Young Turks' did not bring about the breakdown of the caste distinction, and it was, in fact, like all other events in the political history of the Osmanly, a mere imitation of the Western nations, rather than a spontaneous outbreak of national feeling
186 against imperialistic government. There is no doubt
517 that such a truly national movement did begin when some years before the Balkan War a literary attempt led by Ziya Bey, Ahmed Shinassy Bey, and Namyk Kemal Bey, was made to purify the Osmanly language from its Arabian and Persian admixture. It is noteworthy that two of those leaders, Ziya Bey (later Pasha) and Kemal Bey, when exiled from Turkey by Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz for their political ideas, found refuge in London. But, before their brilliant writings brought about any literary revival or social revolution, the movement was checked by the subsequent political action of the 'Young Turks', or strictly speaking by the Committee of Union and Progress (Ittikhad), after they successfully abolished the influence of the more sound rival group, the Committee of Unity and Freedom (Ittilaf). The Pan-Islamic propaganda—bound up as it is with the Arabic language and culture—when carried on by that party in non-Turkic Islamic countries, ran contrary to the attempts of the literary reformers to free themselves from foreign
● [648] culture. Meanwhile, the political and economic dependence on Germany imposed by the ruling classes on the Osmanly country did not favour the further development of linguistic and other internal reforms.

186 *energy to rise even higher.*'[1] It should be noted that the total number of the Turks is here exaggerated by some twenty million, and that the term 'nation' is used somewhat vaguely.

It is pretty certain that the several Turkic nations which the author has had the opportunity of meeting in Asia would be surprised if any one proposed to unite them in one local group on the ground of some remote tradition. Thus they would not understand any reason for a voluntary union, even with the Turks of European Russia, not to speak of still less known people. One cannot disregard the local national awakening of some of these groups, as for instance that of the progressive 'Young Sarts', or retrogressive Usbegs of Bokhara, or even the Kaizak solidarity which may develop into national feeling, but there is now no moral link which would unite these groups in opposition to a Democratic Russia. Apart from conquest, the only thing that would effectively bring them together would be identity of religion, language, and education, and some economic organization under which they would retain their lands, and be encouraged to a more progressive mode of life—not too rapidly introduced. Identity of religion does not exist at present, for within the Mahometan world—to say nothing of others—there are as many distinctions as among the Christians; nor do they know any common language except the Russian.

● 648 Since the Chinese and Russian Revolutions the confiscation of lands belonging to these Turkic natives is less likely to occur on the part of Russia[2]‡and China.

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[1] Tekin Alp, *op. cit.*, Foreword, p. 5

000 [2] On June 25, 1916 (old style), there appeared a Ukaz from the

‡[For footnote, see category 116, p. 17--- Analyst]

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186 the prolongation of the Russian chaos would encourage the congregation of the Turkic elements, if the dissociation from the other people of the once Russian Empire was their aim. But so far neither the 'All-Russian Mahometan Congress' nor 'Mahometan Regional Councils' separate themselves from the general problems of Russia, even though they express interest in the Mahometans abroad, and the majority favour some kind of federal form of government. The Turkic population of Russia is not more uniform in political opinion than the Slavonic or Finnic branches; and so, the reactionary portion of them guided by Mullahs, and on the whole less affected by the Russian and more by the Central Asian culture, form an opposition to the Mahometan federalists.

The term Turanian.

103 The term 'Turan', from which Turanian is derived, is so Asiatic that we do not find it in the Greek authors, though the fact that it occurs in the *Avesta* in the form Tura points to its ancient origin.

779 It is said in the *Avesta* that Thraetona had three sons, Airya (Arya), who received as his portion Iran; Sairima, who received the western lands; and Tura, to whom fell the oriental lands. Again, Tuirya (Turya) is used in the *Avesta* as an epithet applied to the countries now called Turanian.[1] The people of Tuirya are spoken of as enemies of the people of Airya. Another 538 reference is found in the epic of the Persian poet Firdusi, the Shâh Naméh dating from the tenth century

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[1] E. Blochet, 'Le Nom de Turc dans l'Avesta', *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, pp. 305-9.

619 and subdivided into the Arghyn, Naïman, Kipchak, and Konkrat tribes.

3. Kichik-yüz (Kichik-jus) or Little Orda, living between the Aral Sea and the lower Volga, and subdivided into the Alchin and Yabbas tribes.

565 At the present time the 'hordes' of the Kaizak intermingle to a great extent, but class distinctions within the hordes are still upheld. The nobility, called Tiuri or Ak-sök, i. e. 'White Bones', trace their ancestry from Jinghis Khan, notwithstanding that the latter was a Mongol. All the other people are called Kara-sök, i. e. 'Black Bones'. 681 Some old legal customs still disregard the Russian law, as e. g. that of *baranta*, or revenge for a wrong inflicted on one tribesman or clansman, by carrying away the culprit's or his clansmen's herd.

618 Like the other Turks, the Kaizak base their social structure upon a patriarchal system. It is very difficult to define what should be called a clan among the Turks of Central Asia, in the sense in which that term is used in dealing with Africa and Australia. There seems to be a conception of a political group, called among both the Kirghis and the Kaizak *uruk* or *ru*, with its head, *bey*, *bi*, or *serdar* (possibly a confederation of such clans was once called *el*), while a group of families affiliated by blood is called by the Kaizak *taypas* or *tayfa* (by the Kirghis *kyrk*). The head of such a sub-clan, based on blood relationship, is called *ak-sakal*. An amalgamation of several sub-clans forms a *sök* (clan).

If a clan 'sök' increases in size, and wishes to divide or to migrate, the departive group sometimes takes as a name the word for the number of the sub-clans of which it is composed, e. g. *On* ('ten'), *Yur* ('a hundred'); or

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among the Seykym clan of the Kaizak, whose *uran* 618
is also 'Seykym'.

Though the Kaizak belong geographically to the 221
Iranized Turks, culturally they have on the whole 231
much affinity with the Mongols. The majority are still nomadic cattle and horse breeders. Their method of cattle-keeping is a most luxurious one. They leave the cattle on the pastures the whole year round, hence their only care is to find a fresh pasture every season. The spring and autumn pastures may be the same. It is only recently, since more of the land has been claimed by the Russian Immigration Committee, that the Kaizak have begun to lay up winter stores for their cattle. Each clan has defined limits to its pasture lands. Under the old Russian system the pasture land used by the Kaizak belonged to the State, and they were granted the use of it, dividing it at their communal gatherings according to the number of people, cattle, and vehicles
in each class. The permanent houses, gardens, arable [428]
land, and irrigation canals are hereditary.[1]

It is curious to note that the Kaizak, whose dwellings 764.
are so light and portable, bury their dead in solid structures of wood, clay, and brick. This custom also exists among the Kara-Kirghis, and was known to the old Yenisei-Kirghis. As it is not found among the non-Turkic population of Central Asia, it seems to indicate that those who practise it now are perhaps the nearest relatives of the people who built the old burial mounds of the Yenisei, called *kurgans*.

THE KARA-KALPAK ('Black Caps'), another Turkic 101
tribe of the same group (134,313 in 1911 as against 162
111,799 in 1897), live in the Amu Daria district of the

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[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, p. 159.

namely, to picture the dead person. The figures, some 172
of which reach a height of three to four feet, are made of rude stone blocks, and almost all of them are characterized by the curious position of the hands, clasping in front a cup, or cup-like object. While the general appearance of the figure is highly conventionalized, the faces differ greatly. They are of both sexes; in fact the female sex predominates. Only some of them show Mongolian traits. Stone figures of similar appearance are found in Southern Russia, where they coincide with the belt known for its Scythic remains. These, however, are of much later date, since we know that some of the Turkic tribes who invaded Russia before the time of Jinghis Khan, such, for instance, as the Polovtsy (Cumans), were in the habit of erecting such
figures.[1] Though the custom of placing a small wooden 172
figure of the deceased on the grave is known to many 764
Turkic and Finnic tribes in Siberia, these old stones are taken by the modern natives for images of gods, and sacrifices are often offered to them.

The burial masks have, so far as is known at present, a very limited distribution. They have been found on Tagara Island quite close to Minusinsk, and at a spot about sixty versts to the south-east (Salt Lake).[2] Altogether not more than twenty masks are known from this region. But some have been found also in the Graeco-Scythic tombs of the Crimea at Glinishche. The masks are either white or coloured, and are found associated with the skull, or, in cases where the

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[1] Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

[2] K. I. Goroshchenko, 'Burial masks of gypsum and a special type of trepanation in the Kurgans of the Minusinsk District', *Bull. of Tenth Arch. Congress in Riga*, 1896, p. 4.

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skull is missing, separately on a specially erected stone slab. In some cases it seems likely that the masks had been broken or partially burnt, together with other objects belonging to the dead person. In one kurgan at Salt Lake we find, besides the plaster covering the skull, clay and gypsum covering the first five vertebrae also; in this case the mask has not been taken from the face of the deceased, but covers the skull on a foundation of clay moulded to imitate the features. Thus we have to deal with two types of mask in this region. One is a plaster cast of gypsum, taken from the face of the deceased by the modern method of making a mould and taking a cast from it. Such masks are typical of the kurgans of Tagara Island, and are associated with the custom of burning the body and burying the ashes, or of burying the whole corpse in a standing position. The ashes are often buried alongside of the skull and the mask, and obviously the mask must have been taken immediately after death.

The other type, found in the kurgans called *Chaa-tas*, or communal kurgans, near the Salt Lake, is, properly speaking, not a mask but an artificial reconstruction of the face of the deceased superimposed upon the skeleton. This type is connected with the custom of burying the skeleton in a standing position,[1] and it must be supposed, therefore, that after death the corpse was left either outside the kurgan or in a temporary grave until the flesh had completely disappeared from the bones.[2] And indeed this custom corresponds to what we know from Chinese and Greek writers about the burial customs of the old Turks. 'If a man die in spring or summer they wait for the leaves to fall, if in autumn or winter they wait for leaves and flowers to come out. Then they dig a ditch and bury him.'[1] In fact, in the difficult task of disentangling the Hiung-nu (Turks) and the Tung-hu (Tungus) tribes in the Chinese annals, one of the safest guides is the burial customs of these peoples, since the Tung-hu buried their dead, as they do sometimes now, on a high platform, while the Hiung-nu left the body in the tent or outside the tent for a long time. To this custom is due the fact that so few kurgans include the complete skeleton. The frequent absence of the skull, where the mask replaces it, may, however, be explained by the custom of keeping the skull among the living as a memento.

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[1] Goroshchenko, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Moreover, the fact that some of the skulls found in the same communal kurgans have undergone post-humous trepanning in the region of the temple suggests that the skull was not left for the flesh on it to decay naturally, but that artificial means were employed to prepare it for the final burial ceremony. After the skull had been thus cleaned of all its soft tissues, all the openings were plugged with clay, and then the features of the face were reconstructed. In most cases a layer of clay covers the calvaria also. Sometimes a coating of gypsum is put on the top of the clay.

The artificial method of cleaning the skull and then reconstructing the features, so well known among various primitives of Melanesia and, as has been pointed out to me by Mr. Henry Balfour, also of Mexico, might very well be taken for the genuine custom of the aborigines of the country, which were doubtless of Turkic race, while the more refined

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[1] Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

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gypsum casts may have been introduced by the people who brought the Bronze culture to this region. In support of the first part of this statement it is worthy of mention that Father Bichurin, whose translations of the Chinese annals have been made use of extensively in this investigation, says that a people living in Southern Mongolia, and possibly contemporary with the construction of these kurgans, had the custom of 'tearing off the skin from the dead', which seems to be a direct reference to this second mode of burial as being prevalent in Central Asia.[1]

Goroshchenko, the Siberian anthropologist to whose thorough study of the osteology of the kurgans the author is indebted, thinks that the masks of the Chaa-tas type developed out of the casts of the Tagara type. But if we consider the archaeological remains there seems to be very little to show the difference in age between these two groups of kurgans, both of them differing from other Bronze Age kurgans in this, that they include both bronze and iron implements.[2] They should therefore be ascribed to the late Bronze Age type.

There is no doubt that the clear and refined features of the masks of the Tagara type, some of which can be seen in the Helsingfors and Moscow Museums, approach the 'Aryan' type—to retain this unsatisfactory but convenient term—while the masks of the Chaa-tas, with broader face and coarse features, approach the Mongolian type. But it is possible that the difference is merely superficial, and is explained by the different

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[1] Father Jakinth Bichurin, *Collection of Information concerning Peoples living in Central Asia*, vol. III, pp. 197-9.

[2] K. I. Goroshchenko, *Skulls from the Kurgans of the Minusinsk District*, 1900, pp. 8-9.

method of construction. The face as reconstructed on 172
a skull would naturally be coarser than the mask taken 764
from a face, unless of course the constructor were a master more skilled in the moulding of human features than was the man of the Bronze Age of Minusinsk.

It is noteworthy that the craniometric measurements 141
of skulls found in these kurgans do not give us evidence 172
to support the theory of two distinct physical races. The results of these measurements are summed up by Goroshchenko as follows:[1] that the type of these skulls shows great uniformity with that of other Bronze Age skulls, that they resemble the skulls of the older kurgans of the Moscow Government, and that they do not correspond with any measurements of skulls on living people of the modern population of this region, whether Mongol or Turk. The most striking feature of these skulls is their long-headedness. Out of 96 skulls of the kurgans of the Minusinsk region, 42 were dolichocephalic and 21 sub-dolichocephalic.[2]

This brings us to this most unsettled problem: the 000
definition of the physique of the Turks of Central Asia.

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[1] Goroshchenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 30. The measurements of the male skulls of the two groups of kurgans where the masks were found give the following result (Table II):

Cephalic Index.		
Tagara Kurgans	74.6	(16 measurements)
Chaa-tas	73.2	(13 „)
Horizontal Circumference.		
Tagara Kurgans	522	(18 measurements)
Chaa-tas	527	(14 „)
Altitudinal (Height) Index.		
Tagara Kurgans	76	(6 measurements)
Chaa-tas	72.5	(10 „)

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maternal kin sketched in above. Another contrast between the conjugal family and the extended family is that the former is essentially unstable, it may be broken up by divorce or migration, whereas the extended family is a permanent body, having, as we have seen, the properties of a corporate social structure.

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The extended family of the Asiatic steppe is a diachronically oriented family. Such a family does not live for the present; it has received its birth, its being, its titles, honors, wealth, in short, its social position and status and property rights, from the past, from the ancestors, and holds them in trust for the future generations who will in turn honor the present locum tenens as an ancestor. The ancestors are honored and worshipped, not as genitors, those who have given birth to one, but as forebears, those who have kept the line of descent alive and maintained it across the generations, across time, diachronically. Thus the family corporeal and incorporeal property is not at all to be regarded as private property, nor even as the common, collective property of the congeners of the family. The entire patrimony is a trust to be held for the future, just as the family and lineage ancestors maintained the being of the line and its patrimony in trust for those yet to come. The practice of the levirate; the practice whereby children of an un-remarried widow belong to the family of the deceased husband regardless of who the actual sire is; the practice of adoption, of polygyny, all serve to maintain the line.

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776 The religion of the Turks who were responsible for the inscriptions found in the Yenisei and Orkhon valleys, seems to have been the same Shamanism which is still to be found in a comparatively vital state among many Turanians, especially the Altai 'Tatars' and the Yakut. If we take Shamanism as a form of animistic religion which originated in Asia, and which differs from the animistic religions of other parts of the world in its conception of the gods and in the nature of its propitiatory ceremonies, then we shall not find in any other part of Central and Northern Asia a more typical and more highly developed form of it than among these people. At the same time it must be remembered that Shamanistic conceptions underlie many of the high religious systems of the Asiatic continent.

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[1] See note to p. 22.

[2] I. P. Melioranski, 'On the Orkhon and Yenisei Memorial Inscriptions', *J. Min. Educ.*, June, 1898, St. Petersburg.

The sky, sometimes called *Tengri*, is venerated as 791
being the home of the good spirits, and they themselves 776
are sometimes called *Tengri* also. To ward off the destructive power of the malevolent god, and to ensure the protection of his benevolent rival, a caste of priests, called Shamans (the name varying according to the tribe), performs religious ceremonies in which the sacred drum (*tiungur*) plays an important rôle. In some tribes, e.g. the Yakut, there is a white Shaman who propitiates the good power, and a black Shaman who has to deal with the dark power. All these tribes believe in various lesser gods, among them a female deity who presides over birth. She is called *Umai* by the Altaians, *Ayisit* by the Yakut.[3]

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[1] N. N. Kosmin, *Chern*, p. 102.

[2] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 277-82.

[3] M. A. Czaplicka, *op. cit.*, p. 141, and Chaps. VII and VIII. See also 'The Influence of Environment upon the Religious Ideas and

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from the people who left behind the old archaeological remains in Turan (Central Asia).

● 773 In many instances this propaganda assumes naïve form. Half-legendary kings and leaders of the Turks in Asia have been set up by the propagandists before the Turkish soldiers as hero-ancestors—to say nothing of such historical personages as Attila and Timur! Then again, a legend found by European investigators among many Asiatic Turks, to the effect that they originated from a she-wolf, has now provided an occasion for the abandonment on Turkish standards of the Mahometan crescent in favour of the pre-Mahometan Turkish wolf. The legend, of which there are several versions current among the Turks and Mongols of Central Asia, relates that a white she-wolf—or perhaps a woman with the name Zena (sometimes Bura), which means 'she-wolf'—found and reared an abandoned man-child, who became the ancestor of the Turks (or in the Mongol version—of the Mongols). This explains the appearance of that animal on the war standards of the early Central Asiatic Turks, particularly the Tu-kiu branch, a design imitated by the
[177] Osmanly during the present war. Though the Osmanly took up this legend as having been originally Asiatic, the latest researches seem to support the theory of de Guignes that it had a European origin, and was imported into Asia by the Huns. Assuming that the Huns were of Turkic stock, de Guignes thinks that when they were defeated in Europe and retired by way of the Volga, the Urals, and the Altai into Turan, they brought with them the Roman legend of Romulus and Remus, and gave it a Turkic setting by associating it with local Turkic traditions, so that

subsequently it was accepted as if it had been of local origin.[1] 773 ●

Such is the story of one of the 'historic heritages' claimed by the Osmanly. But, as a matter of fact, the more current version of the origin of the Turks is that which derives their tribes from Ogus-Khan, son of Kara-Khan, grandson of Dik-Bakui, great-grandson of Abuldji-Khan, who was a direct descendant of Noah. Such at least is the version given in one of the first attempts at recording the Turkic myths relating to their origin.[2]

If from the realm of mythology we turn to the physical 144
or racial side, we are in perplexity as to why the 177
drafters of the Pan-Turanian propaganda entirely dis- 197
regard the fact that the Osmanly have now more Albanian, Slavonic, Thracian, and Circassian blood in their veins than they have Turkic; that their culture is more Persian, Arabian, and European than Central Asiatic; and that even in language there are divergences no less wide than are to be found among the languages of the Germanic family. All differences are disregarded, and linguistic similarity is magnified into linguistic identity.

Had the Turks and their allies, the Central Powers, 186
been successful in their military plans, their intentions as regards Central Asia were as follows: '*Thirty to forty millions of Turks will become independent, and together with the ten millions of Ottoman Turks, will form a nation of fifty millions, which may perhaps be compared with that of Germany in that it will have the strength and*

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[1] J. de Guignes, *Histoire générale des Huns*, vol. I, pt. ii, Book I, pp. 371-3.

[2] Recorded by Rashid al-Dîn, quoted by Radloff, *Concerning the Uigur*, p. 1.

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177 from the people erroneously called Kirghis, namely the Kaizak, who were dealt with among the Iranian Turks. The Kirghis, or 'Eastern Kirghis', are as a matter of fact, together with the Altai 'Tatars' and the Kirei, the truest representatives of the Turanian Turks. The name seems to be derived[1] from *kir* (*kr*), 'cultivated field', and shows that these people were originally agriculturists, as indeed we know they were during at least the period from the sixth century up to the time when the occupation of the upper Yenisei, first by the Mongol Altyn Khan, and then by the Russians, forced many of them to migrate farther south, and to take up a pastoral life. Even now part of them are agriculturists and hunters, and it is only that section which was subjected to the most frequent migrations that have adopted what may be called horse-culture. This may be defined as a mode of life dependent on cattle and especially horse breeding, hence their nomadic habits. They use the horse for riding, he provides them with food, and to a certain extent with clothing, while for heavy draught work it is the dromedary which is chiefly used.

101 The Kirghis are called by the Russians 'Eastern', 'Burut', 'Black' (Kara), or 'Mountain' Kirghis; the latter is used to distinguish them from the Kaizak Kirghis of the plains. Their home was since the beginning of our era in the valley of the Yenisei, whence they moved south under the advance of the

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● 773 [1] Another derivation of the name is *kyrk kys*, meaning 'forty girls', and the legend tracing the Kirghis from forty women from China who married forty men of U-si seems to uphold this (Schott, 'Über die ächten Kirgisen', *Abhandl. Berliner Akad.*, 1865, p. 432). But as a matter of fact the name by which they call themselves is not Kirghis but Krgyz.

771 but the Russian law. The Turanian Turks are affected by Mahometanism about as much as they are by Russian Orthodoxy. It would be misleading to give the official estimate,[1] but about two-thirds of them still adhere to the form of animistic religion known as Shamanism. As far as the Turanian Turks are concerned, therefore, Mahometanism fails as a guide for identifying the Turk.

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669 It would seem that

186 the prolongation of the Russian chaos would encourage the congregation of the Turkic elements, if the dissociation from the other people of the once Russian Empire was their aim. But so far neither the 'All-Russian Mahometan Congress' nor 'Mahometan Regional Councils' separate themselves from the general problems of Russia, even though they express interest in the Mahometans abroad, and the majority favour some kind of federal form of government. The Turkic population of Russia is not more uniform in political opinion than the Slavonic or Finnic branches; and so, the reactionary portion of them guided by Mullahs, and on the whole less affected by the Russian and more by the Central Asian culture, form an opposition to the Mahometan federalists.

The term Turanian.

103 The term 'Turan', from which Turanian is derived, is so Asiatic that we do not find it in the Greek authors, though the fact that it occurs in the *Avesta* in the form Tura points to its ancient origin.

● 779 It is said in the *Avesta* that Thraetona had three sons, Airya (Arya), who received as his portion Iran; Sairima, who received the western lands; and Tura, to whom fell the oriental lands. Again, Tuirya (Turya) is used in the *Avesta* as an epithet applied to the countries now called Turanian.[1] The people of Tuirya are spoken of as enemies of the people of Airya. Another
538 reference is found in the epic of the Persian poet Firdusi, the Shâh Naméh dating from the tenth century

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[1] E. Blochet, 'Le Nom de Turc dans l'Avesta', *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, pp. 305-9.

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originals of those sent to England may yet be found in some British collection. Some of the envoys were Uigur priests of Nestorian religion.[1]

Religion.

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[295]

Among the Iranian Turks in Turkestan the almost universal religion is Mahometanism. Its adherents form 99 per cent. of the Turks in Ferghana (Kokand), 93 per cent. in Samarkand, 96 per cent. in Syr Daria, and 88 per cent. in Transcaspia (1897). They are mostly Sunnites, and of the Hanifite rite. It is recognized in the Mahometan world that nowhere else is there such strict adherence to the Koran and the Sunna as in this region, nowhere else are there so many religious orders and so many saints. This contemporary religious fanaticism, however, does not play the cultural rôle which it did when Mahometanism was introduced into this region in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as a rival to the earlier influences of Buddhism, Christianity, and the well-developed local animistic religion. At that time, under the influence of Iranian culture, Mahometanism meant also the development of science and art, literature and architecture. The present theologians of Turkestan have banished from their religion everything which is not in accordance with strict devotion and

asceticism.[1] In a way, they play the rôle of Calvinists 779 in the Mahometan world; on the other hand, the influence of Buddhism still remains in the towns, while in the mountains and steppes there still lives a strong animistic cult, sometimes intermixed with Mahometanism.

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[1] The Uigur manuscripts known to exist in European libraries are:

Kudatku Bilik (copy made in Herat in 1439) (Wiener Hofbibliothek).

Légende de Oghus Chan (Library of Charles Schefer of Paris).

Teskere-i-ewlija (Bibliothèque Nationale).

Miradj nameh (Berliner Bibliothek).

Yarlyk of Temir Kutlug (Wiener Hofbibliothek).

Yarlyk of Toktamysh (Moscow Library).

Application of the envoy of Chami, Babeke, to the Chinese Emperor, with Chinese translation (Asiatic Museum, Petrograd).

Mahometanism, though introduced among the upper [797] classes in the tenth century, did not spread among the masses of Turkestan until the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and it is now known that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Christianity, especially Nestorian Christianity, was a great rival of Mahometanism in the western part of Turkestan.

The people of the eastern part of Turkestan, especially the Kirghis and various descendants of the Uigur, were never great adherents of Mahometanism. In general, it is the Sarts, the Usbegs, and the Tadjik who are the most devoted Mussulmans. Still, if we compare the [162] number of Mahometans in Russian Central Asia in 1911 (8,223,982) with their number in 1897 (6,996,654), it appears that Mahometanism is still spreading in Turkestan, though its increase in Siberia is negligible (128,403 in 1911, against 126,587 in 1897). The nomads of the north-east—i. e. [177] of Semirechie, Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, and Uralsk—have been but slightly affected by Mahometanism, and it is curious to know that some of the most Turkic sections of all the Eastern Turks, the Kaizak and the Kirghis, accepted it only after the Russian conquest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, assisted by the Russian officials! They still follow their customary law, *zang* (*ādat* in Arabian), and if they give it up it is to accept, not the Mahometan written law, *sheriat*,

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[1] A. Vambéry, 'Muhammadanism in Asiatic Turkey', *E. R. E.*, 1915, pp. 885-8.

779 but the Russian law. The Turanian Turks are affected by Mahometanism about as much as they are by Russian Orthodoxy. It would be misleading to give the official estimate,[1] but about two-thirds of them still adhere to the form of animistic religion known as Shamanism. As far as the Turanian Turks are concerned, therefore, Mahometanism fails as a guide for identifying the Turk.

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[2] I. P. Melioranski, 'On the Orkhon and Yenisei Memorial Inscriptions', *J. Min. Educ.*, June, 1898, St. Petersburg.

by their neighbours. It must be remembered that while the reindeer is not known to the Turks of Tian-Shan and the upper Yenisei, the latter people have several other species of deer, especially the elk (*Cervus alces*) and the maral (*Cervus elephas*). The domesticated deer is rare. 233

Forming a wedge between the Tungusic and the Palaeo-Siberian tribes, the Yakut impose their language, together with many of their customs, on both these groups, as well as on the Russian settlers. In religion they are typical Shamanists. 177 [791]

On meeting a Yakut among the various Mongoloid peoples of the north, one is at once struck with the difference in his physiognomy. His hair and eyes are darker, his nose narrower and better marked, and on the whole he gives the impression of possessing Southern, and one might almost say Semitic, characteristics. And yet he can hardly be suspected of having any Arabic strain. 142

The *Siberian Tatars* live chiefly in the Tomsk and Yeniseisk Governments. In the Tomsk Government, 70 per cent. of them do not know any language but their own; the remaining 30 per cent. speak Russian also. In the Yeniseisk Government only 12 per cent. speak the Russian language besides their own. 101 191

As to their religion some of them are Mahometans, namely: 779 101

1. Tobolsk Tatars and 'Siberian Bokharians' of the Tobolsk district.
2. The Baraba Tatars of the Kainsk district.
3. The Tomsk Tatars of the Mariinsk district.
4. The Kuznietsk Tatars of the Kuznietsk and Barnaul district.

Others[1] are still Shamanists or 'Christian-Shamanists', 101 177 791

[1] [i.e. Siberian Tartars--- Analyst]

101 among the Kirei, who had meanwhile become to some extent Mongolized.[1]

To the south-west of the Kirei, in Kulja and in the western part of Chinese Turkestan, on the slopes of the Tian-Shan, live remnants of various Turanian Turks, sometimes called *Kashgarians*, many of whom are perhaps the direct descendants of the old Uigur, and possibly have also a strain of the pre-Turkic Aryan population of which traces are still to be found in Central Asia. In language, and probably in physical ● [779] type, they are among the purest Turanians. Most of them, especially those who are Chinese subjects, are Mahometans. They are chiefly cattle-breeders. Such are the *Yerlik*, the *Kashgarlik*, and the *Yetisherlik*. Those subject to Russia number some 54,000 (in 1911). [178] Since the great upheaval caused by the conquests of Jinghis Khan, and the migrations which followed, these people have remained stationary to a degree impossible anywhere but in the heart of the Asiatic continent, but it is not impossible that under a helpful and sympathetic government all of them, whether Russian or Chinese subjects, might awake to play their part in the future history of Asia.

The country to the east of the region occupied by the Chern 'Tatars' or Altaians, and to the south of that occupied by the Abakan 'Tatars', i.e. that part of the Yeniseisk Government between the Sayan Mountains and the Tannu Ola range, is called Uriankhai, and its 100,000 inhabitants are usually grouped together under the same name, Uriankhai, sometimes in its 167 Chinese form, *Uriangut*. The northern part of the country, along the River Ussa, began to be colonized

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[1] While Vambéry and Cahun reckon the Kirei as Turks, Skrine and Ross reckon them as Mongols. See note to p. 72.

the spirits dependent on him, is the region above the 772
earth, and of the latter the region below the earth. Their realms meet *on* the earth. Erlik is sometimes represented as a bear, e.g. among the Altaians.[1] Generally speaking there is no animal worship, but some animals are venerated. The greatest veneration is shown to the bear, occasionally to the wolf, and of birds, to the eagle, the hawk, and the goose. These creatures, as well as some fish, play an important part in the Shamanistic ceremonies, for when the Shaman's spirit-assistants appear at his call, they are supposed to assume the forms of animals.[2] It is, however, not in this veneration, but rather in the use of the clan-crests or *tamgas*, that any approach to totemism among these people must be sought.

The sky, sometimes called *Tengri*, is venerated as 791 ●
being the home of the good spirits, and they themselves 776
are sometimes called *Tengri* also. To ward off the destructive power of the malevolent god, and to ensure the protection of his benevolent rival, a caste of priests, called Shamans (the name varying according to the tribe), performs religious ceremonies in which the sacred drum (*tiungur*) plays an important rôle. In some tribes, e.g. the Yakut, there is a white Shaman who propitiates the good power, and a black Shaman who has to deal with the dark power. All these tribes believe in various lesser gods, among them a female deity who presides over birth. She is called *Umai* by the Altaians, *Ayisit* by the Yakut.[3]

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[1] N. N. Kosmin, *Chern*, p. 102.

[2] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 277–82.

[3] M. A. Czaplicka, *op. cit.*, p. 141, and Chaps. VII and VIII. See also 'The Influence of Environment upon the Religious Ideas and

by their neighbours. It must be remembered that while the reindeer is not known to the Turks of Tian-Shan and the upper Yenisei, the latter people have several other species of deer, especially the elk (*Cervus alces*) and the maral (*Cervus elephas*). The domesticated deer is rare. 233

Forming a wedge between the Tungusic and the Palaeo-Siberian tribes, the Yakut impose their language, together with many of their customs, on both these groups, as well as on the Russian settlers. In religion they are typical Shamanists. 177 [791] ●

On meeting a Yakut among the various Mongoloid peoples of the north, one is at once struck with the difference in his physiognomy. His hair and eyes are darker, his nose narrower and better marked, and on the whole he gives the impression of possessing Southern, and one might almost say Semitic, characteristics. And yet he can hardly be suspected of having any Arabic strain. 142

The *Siberian Tatars* live chiefly in the Tomsk and Yeniseisk Governments. In the Tomsk Government, 70 per cent. of them do not know any language but their own; the remaining 30 per cent. speak Russian also. In the Yeniseisk Government only 12 per cent. speak the Russian language besides their own. 101 191

As to their religion some of them are Mahometans, namely: 779 101

1. Tobolsk Tatars and 'Siberian Bokharians' of the Tobolsk district.
2. The Baraba Tatars of the Kainsk district.
3. The Tomsk Tatars of the Mariinsk district.
4. The Kuznietsk Tatars of the Kuznietsk and Barnaul district.

Others¹ are still Shamanists or 'Christian-Shamanists', 101 177 791

¹[i.e. Siberian Tartars--- Analyst]

101 people who mix their pagan practices with some of the
177 Russian Orthodox Church beliefs. Those are:

●791 5. The Forest (Chern) Tatars of the Biisk district.
6. The Teleut and Telengit of the Biisk and Kuznietsk districts.
7. The Kumandits (or 'White Kalmucks') of the Kuznietsk and Biisk districts.
8. The Shortes and Lebyedints of the Kuznietsk district.
9. The Kyzyl and Chulim natives of the Achinsk district.
10. The Abakan Tatars (Kachints, Koibal, Beltir, and Sagai) of the Minusinsk district.
11. The Karagass of the Nijneudinsk district of the government of Irkutsk.
12. The Kamashints of the Kansk district.

177 The *Teleut* of the Kuznietsk district are perhaps the
101 most Russified, while the *Telengit*, along the rivers
144 Biya and Katun, are very much mixed with the Mongols. The following tribes are said to be mixed with the Ugrian-Ostyak, the Yenisei-Ostyak, and the Samoyed, though in culture, language, and tradition they are now Turkic:

1, The Kamashints; 2, the Karagass; 3, the Koibal; 4, the Beltir; 5, the Kyzyl; 6, the Shortes; 7, the Kumandints.

144 The racial origin of these tribes has been defined,
618 often superficially, merely judging from the names of their clans. Thus the Kyzyl (*Kysi*, 'man') are composed of ten classes: Kyzyl, Malo-Achin, Bolshe-Achin, Agy, Bassagar, Kamnar, Argyn, Kalmak, Kurchik, Shui. Of these, Argyn clan is said to be the remnant of the Kaizak of the Middle Orda, because those people have also had a clan of this name. Kalmak clan is also

2/2 originals of those sent to England may yet be found
175 in some British collection. Some of the envoys were
Uigur priests of Nestorian religion.[1]

Religion.

779 Among the Iranian Turks in Turkestan the almost universal religion is Mahometanism. Its adherents form 99 per cent. of the Turks in Ferghana (Kokand), ● [795] 93 per cent. in Samarkand, 96 per cent. in Syr Daria, and 88 per cent. in Transcaspia (1897). They are mostly Sunnites, and of the Hanifite rite. It is recognized in the Mahometan world that nowhere else is there such strict adherence to the Koran and the Sunna as in this region, nowhere else are there so many religious orders and so many saints. This contemporary religious fanaticism, however, does not play the cultural rôle which it did when Mahometanism was introduced into this region in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as a rival to the earlier influences of Buddhism, Christianity, and the well-developed local animistic religion. At that time, under the influence of Iranian culture, Mahometanism meant also the development of science and art, literature and architecture. The present theologians of Turkestan have banished from their religion everything which is not in accordance with strict devotion and

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[1] The Uigur manuscripts known to exist in European libraries are:

Kudatku Bilik (copy made in Herat in 1439) (Wiener Hofbibliothek).

Légende de Oghus Chan (Library of Charles Schefer of Paris).

Teskere-i-ewlija (Bibliothèque Nationale).

Miradj nameh (Berliner Bibliothek).

Yarlyk of Temir Kutlug (Wiener Hofbibliothek).

Yarlyk of Toktamysh (Moscow Library).

Application of the envoy of Chami, Babeke, to the Chinese Emperor, with Chinese translation (Asiatic Museum, Petrograd).

3: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RL4 Turkic Peoples RL4

Though engaged chiefly in commerce, they are also successful agriculturists. They know the use of *aryk* or irrigation canals, and are reputed to be the best cultivators of cotton and fruit plantations. On the whole there is only one people who surpass them as agriculturists, namely the Tadjiks,[1] who are supposed to be pure Iranians. 105

The Sarts are Mahometans, Sunnites, many of them followers of the Sufi order. They adhere to the Mahometan written law (*sheriat*). They keep their women more strictly in seclusion than is the case among any other Turkic tribe. This is probably connected with the high degree of organization shown in their religious culture, which exceeds that of the other tribes. They have a great reverence for the Mussulman educational institutions usually to be found in connexion with the Sufi religious orders, and supported by public donations. There are three of these orders in Central Asia, the most ancient of them being in Ferghana. The educational institutions are divided into higher (*Medresse*) and lower (*Mektab*). Besides instruction in religious and legal subjects, the students are given some general knowledge based on mediaeval conceptions; thus Sart geography represents the world as being flat, and surrounded by mountains. In the lower [795] 871

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[1] The Tadjiks are the remnants of the old Aryan population of Central Asia, living chiefly in the Samarkand and Ferghana districts. In 1911 they numbered about 400,000, i. e. 67 per cent. of the total population. The Tadjiks living in the valleys and engaged in agriculture are now 'scarcely distinguishable in language and physique from their neighbours the Sarts, but the Mountain Tadjiks, or Galcha, are still using their Iranian language, and differ from the dark Turanians around them by reason of their light-coloured hair and skin. 144 162

Iish Kysi (*Iish*, 'black forest', 'chern'; *Kysi*, 'men'). 101
In language and religion they keep free from foreign admixture, they are therefore typical Turanian Turks. Their mode of life is sedentary whenever the environment allows them to practise agriculture. In religion they are Shamanists.

THE TURKS OF NORTH-WESTERN MONGOLIA AND EASTERN TURKESTAN. While the Altaians or Chern 'Tatars' occupy the Northern Altai, there lives in the Southern, so-called Little Altai, along the Black Irtish, in Jungaria and in Eastern Turkestan, another Turkic tribe, a rival of the Altaians as representative of the pure Turanian type. This is the tribe called *Kirei*, *Kerrit*, *Kerrait*, or *Kirai*. The chief distinction between the Kirei and the Altaians is now a religious one, the Kirei being Mahometans. We know that from the [795] eleventh to the thirteenth centuries they were adherents of Christianity in the form of Nestorianism, and it is among them that the fabulous Christian king Prester John (probably the native king Ouang-Khan, a contemporary of Jinghis Khan) is said to have lived. In [821] mode of life they are at present nomads, and are well known as hunters.[1]

The Kirei are sometimes called *Kirei-Kirghis*, and it is possible that in the period from the beginning of [174] our era till the sixth century, when the Kirghis were spreading in the basin of the upper Yenisei, one clan, the Kirei, were left behind, and settled in the Kemchik valley. Again, when in the seventeenth century the Yenisei-Kirghis were retiring before the Russian advance, from the Minusinsk steppes southwards to Jungaria and Mongolia, some of them may have settled

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[1] D. Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia*, vol. II, pp. 351–5.

Hazara AU5
Turkic Peoples RL4

A While they are more primi-
464 tive and intellectually inferior to the ruling Afghans, they are physi-
751 cally very sturdy and brave, and their honest and simple natures,
free from all fanaticism, give them an attractive personality. Those
H who have taken service in the Indian army and in railroad con-
462 struction are almost as highly spoken of as the Gurkhas of Nepal,
142 whom they also resemble physically. Outside of their own mountain
181 fastnesses in the Hazarajat, where they are today relatively undisturbed, they supply most of the unskilled labor for road building etc., and their position differs but little from that of serfs. In the Afghan army they have been organized into several battalions of sappers and miners.

H Aside from their distinctly Mongolian type the Hazaras—at least
144 the western clans—may be readily recognized by their small conical
291 headdress of bright-colored calico, lined with fur or sheepskin which forms a fringe around the edge.

A

F. CHAHAR AYMAKS (250,000).

162 These are four semipastoral tribes of northwestern Afghanistan
T closely related to the Hazaras, but belonging to the Sunni persua-
101 sion. Like the Hazaras they are of pure Tartar or Mongolian origin
144 and possess all the physical and mental attributes of their kinsmen
● 795 further to the south. But being less numerous and less fiercely inde-
197 pendent than the Hazaras they never had to suffer so much at the
hands of the central government, especially as they appear to have become Sunnis (with some exceptions) at an early period. They speak either Turki or Persian dialects, and even a mixture of both.

A (a) The *Taimanis* (160,000) are the most numerous of these four
162 tribes. They occupy the Ghorat, i. e., the mountains between the
T Hari Rud and the Ghor, where the medieval Kingdom of Ghor
162 (10th–13th centuries A. D.) must have been located. They are not
291 exclusively nomads, but also cultivators of the soil. Intermarriage
197 has slightly modified the original Mongolian type. Their dress is
101 more like that of the Tajiks than the Hazaras, and they wear the
turban. Their language is largely Turki.

(b) *Firozkohis* (50,000) roam the entire watershed of the Murghab River, north of the Band-i-Baba Range. They are said to have come from the Firoz-koh mountain (near Samnan, in North Persia) although they look more Mongolian than the other Aymaks. They speak Persian and wear a turban like the Uzbegs.

(c) *Jamshedis* (20,000) are found in the district of Badghis, between the Hari Rud and the Russian frontier. They have a reputation for intelligence, honesty, and good horsemanship. Although they dress like the Uzbegs and speak Turki they differ from them by wearing the sheepskin hat.

Turkic Peoples RL4
Uzbeg RN5
Nuri AU6

A
166 (d) *Taimuris* (15,000) are an unimportant tribe, a large section
162 of whom migrated to Persian Khorassan, where there are now fully
T as many as in Afghanistan. They speak Persian and many of them
162 are Shiahs.
197
● 795

G. UZBEGS (750,000).

The Uzbegs are the principal inhabitants of the provinces of
A Afghan Turkestan and Badakshan. They are called *Turkmen*
162 by the other Afghans and are a pure Tartar race, like the Turkomans
U 101 of the rest of Central Asia. Their language is Turki and they differ
197 from their kinsmen in Transoxiana only in that they wear a small
291 turban instead of the sheepskin hat of the Turkomans proper. They
463 wear long, many-colored striped coats and high knee-boots of un-
[A 701] tanned leather. Most of the Afghan cavalry is recruited from them.

H. KIZILBASHIS (100,000).

A Though numerically not one of the great tribes of Afghanistan the
162 Kizilbashis (lit. "Red-Heads") are an influential element. The
795 term was formerly applied as a nickname by the orthodox Sunnis to
464 all Persians in Anatolia and Central Asia, presumably because of
701 red caps they wore. In Afghanistan the name has become almost synonymous with *Shiah*. The Kizilbashis were originally natives of North Persia and only came to Afghanistan with the armies of Nadir Shah in 1737. Some 25,000 of them are still found in the city of Kabul alone, where they occupy the Chandawal quarter, the most prosperous looking part of the town. The rest of the tribe are found in some of the villages of the province of Kabul and of the Ghazni district. Although they have Tartar features they have ceased to be a pure race by intermarrying freely with other tribes. They are known for their intelligence and education, and—not unlike the Greeks and Armenians before their expulsion from Asia Minor—they supply most of the men with professional training or skill. Positions of secretaries, clerks, and interpreters, or of foremen and overseers, are usually held by them, and they even occasionally rise to high office in the government service. Curiously enough they also make excellent soldiers and—with the Uzbegs—furnish much of the Amir's best cavalry. Their position is all the more remarkable because they are handicapped by being Shiahs and therefore disliked by the ruling classes.

I. KAFIRS (70,000).

A 162 This interesting tribe is in a class by itself, having practically no
N ties of either race or religion with the other inhabitants of the country.
101 They are wild, semibarbarous mountaineers inhabiting a

79b To show the persistence of the Shamanistic ceremonial, it is interesting to find that the rites connected with the cult of the sky, as practised at the present day, are strikingly similar to those of the eighth century.[1] The ceremony of sacrificing to the sky is called among the Turks of the Minusinsk District *Tigir Tayi*. It is held every third year, usually towards the end of June. Among most of these Turks, for instance the Beltir and Kachints, it has the character of a strictly clan ceremonial. Women are not allowed to take part in it, nor even to help with the preparations. The spot chosen is usually the top of the highest mountain in the neighbourhood on which birches are growing. Some of these birches are sacred, and near them two fires are lighted, one called *ulug ot*, 'the senior fire', and the other *kichig ot*, 'the junior fire'. No one dares to approach the 'junior fire' from the east, and even from other directions only the leaders of the ceremony are allowed access. A ram or a he-goat is then sacrificed, care being taken that no blood should be shed, and no cry heard from the sacrificial animal. Similar precautions are taken in the sacrifice of the horse to Ulgen among the Altaians. Then the fore-quarters of the beast are boiled on the 'senior fire', while the hind-quarters, together with the flesh of various non-sacrificial animals, are boiled on the 'junior fire'. Meanwhile each head of a family ties his *üldürbä*, that is, a long thread of flax with eagle feathers attached to it, to the sacred birches. The ends of these threads are kept in the hand, and the master of the ceremonies begins the song to the sky, while the

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Practices of the Aborigines of Northern Asia', *Folk-Lore*, March 31, 1914.

[1] I. P. Melioranski, *op. cit.*, pp. 264–5.

others form a chorus. The feathered thread is the road by which the song rises to the sky. The meat which has been prepared on the 'senior fire' is taken out and carried round in a circle, in the direction of the sun. After that the meat, with all the articles used in its preparation, is burnt on the 'senior fire', and if the smoke goes straight to the sky it is a good omen for the clan. Then only is the meat which was prepared on the 'junior fire' ceremonially eaten, after which all the bones and remains of the feast have to be burnt on the 'senior fire'.[1] 796

Ethnography.

The Iranian Turks.

The question now arises, What Turkic nations go to form the group of Iranian Turks? 000

THE TURKOMANS. Their number in Persia, Khiva, and Bokhara is about 600,000. Of these 290,000 (in 1911, as against 248,000 in 1897) are in Transcaspian territory of Turkestan. Among the Turkomans subject to Russia must also be reckoned the Caucasian Turkomans, some 11,000.[2] 162

The Turkomans of Turkestan were subjugated by the Russians in 1881 after a stubborn resistance. The Russians put a stop to their slave trade, and from that time they began to be more settled and to take up agriculture. But even now a large proportion are still nomadic horse-breeders, adhering to the customary law 177 105 asceticism.[1] In a way, they play the rôle of Calvinists in the Mahometan world; on the other hand, the influence of Buddhism still remains in the towns, while in the mountains and steppes there still lives a strong animistic cult, sometimes intermixed with Mahometanism. 779

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[1] S. D. Maynagasheff, 'Sacrifice to the Sky among the Beltir', *Literary Collection of the Anthropological Museum of the Acad. of Science*, Petrograd, 1915, vol. III, pp. 93-102.

[2] The Turkomans of the Ottoman Empire, commonly called Turkmen or Avshahr, are not dealt with here.

Mahometanism, though introduced among the upper classes in the tenth century, did not spread among the masses of Turkestan until the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and it is now known that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Christianity, especially Nestorian Christianity, was a great rival of Mahometanism in the western part of Turkestan. [797]

The people of the eastern part of Turkestan, especially the Kirghis and various descendants of the Uigur, were never great adherents of Mahometanism. In general, it is the Sarts, the Usbegs, and the Tadjik who are the most devoted Mussulmans. Still, if we compare the number of Mahometans in Russian Central Asia in 1911 (8,223,982) with their number in 1897 (6,996,654), it appears that Mahometanism is still spreading in Turkestan, though its increase in Siberia is negligible (128,403 in 1911, against 126,587 in 1897). The nomads of the north-east—i.e. of Semirechie, Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, and Uralsk—have been but slightly affected by Mahometanism, and it is curious to know that some of the most Turkic sections of all the Eastern Turks, the Kaizak and the Kirghis, accepted it only after the Russian conquest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, assisted by the Russian officials! They still follow their customary law, *sang* (*'âdat* in Arabian), and if they give it up it is to accept, not the Mahometan written law, *sheriat*, [162] [177]

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[1] A. Vambéry, 'Muhammadanism in Asiatic Turkey', *E. R. E.*, 1915, pp. 885-8.

And so it happened that before Turkey had succeeded 000
in emancipating herself from her obligations to Europe, Persia, and Arabia, she fell a victim to ambitions[1] the extent of which nothing but the outcome of the war and the fate of the peace settlement will decide.

When, after the Young Turks' Revolution, various 815 ●
European institutions arose in the Ottoman State, there 186
was set up the Academy of Turkish Science ('Turk Bilji Dernayi'), which utilizes the researches of English, French, German, Russian, and other European scientists to further the political plans of the Osmanly. Thus all attempts at finding what the culture of the Turks was like in their original home and in pre-Mahometan times, and what survivals of that culture and of the old race exist, are being interpreted by the Young Turks in such a way as to support the hypothesis of the racial identity of the Osmanly with the Eastern Turks. It seems 186
almost cruel that the process of nationalization started 101
among the educated classes of the Osmanly should be checked by a new 'revival', which, through its very artificiality, is disturbing the natural development of the Osmanly. Just as the first movement led to the substitution of the name 'Turk' for that of 'Osmanly', so now, with the rise of political dreams concentrated on Central Asia, the name 'Turk' is being abandoned in its turn for a name with a more Asiatic sound, viz. 'Turanian'. By using this word, the Osmanly intend to emphasize their claim to descent in the direct line

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[1] Tekin Alp, *The Turkish and Pan-Turkish Ideal*, English translation, London, 1916; M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei*, Leipzig, 1910; J. Germanus, *Turk Darnay*, K. S., 1909, X, Budapest; V. A. Gordlewski, 'Note on the "Turk Darnay" in Constantinople' (Russ.), *Eastern Antiquities*, Trans. E. Sect. I. R. Arch. S., IV, 1913; A. Tyrkova, *Old Turkey and the Young Turks* (Russ.), Petrograd, 1916; H. M. A. Sarron, *La Jeune-Turquie et la revolution*, Paris, 1912.

Though engaged chiefly in commerce, they are also 105 successful agriculturists. They know the use of *aryk* or irrigation canals, and are reputed to be the best cultivators of cotton and fruit plantations. On the whole there is only one people who surpass them as agriculturists, namely the Tadjiks,[1] who are supposed to be pure Iranians.

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871 classes some Arabic is taught; in the higher Persian is the language used, but neither of these languages is really mastered.[1] The Russian schools have had less success among the Sarts than among the Kaizak or the Kirghis.

101 THE TARANCHI or ILI-TATARS (83,000 in 1911 as against 70,000 in 1897) live in Semirechie and in the Transcaspian Territory, having migrated to Russian Turkestan from Eastern Turkestan at the same time as the Dungans, that is to say, when Kulja passed under Chinese rule.

105 In physical type, culture, language, and religion the Taranchi stand very near to the Sarts; the only difference seems to be in regard to the treatment of their women, who have much greater freedom than among the Sarts, and do not cover their faces. The Taranchi are agriculturists, cultivating especially vegetable gardens, but some of them incline towards commerce.

The Turkomans, Sarts, and Taranchi may be grouped together as the least Turkic of all the Iranian Turks, being now strongly under Persian, as they were in the past under Arabian, influence. And of course it must be remembered that all of them form as it were a stratum overlying the original 'Aryan' population, whose culture was of an Irano-Greek type. But of the three the Taranchi have the closest connexion with the Turanian Turks, being probably the descendants of the old Uigur in Eastern Turkestan.

101 The next to be considered are the Usbegs, and their kindred tribes the Kipchak, the Kaizak (Kaizak-Kirghis), and the Kara-Kalpak.

THE USBEGS (592,150 in 1911 as against 534,825 in

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[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, p. 170.